

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

EDITED
BY THE
LIBRARIAN
(HENRY GUPPY)

VOL. 17

JULY, 1933

No. 2

NOTES AND NEWS.

WE regret to have to record the death of the Reverend Robert Mackintosh, M.A., D.D. (Glasgow), B.D. (Edinburgh), which took place on Sunday, the 12th of February, in the 74th year of his age, after an operation. Dr. Mackintosh's last public appearance was at the January meeting of the Council of Governors of this library, of which he had been a member for upwards of twenty years.

ROBERT
MACKINTOSH

A native of Dunoon, where he was born on 23rd of May, 1858, Robert Mackintosh was the son of a minister in the Free Church of Scotland. After a distinguished career at Glasgow, Edinburgh, Jena and Marburg he found himself unable to accept the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, and entered the Congregational Ministry in quest of freedom. He was ordained at Irving Street Church, Dumfries, in 1890, where he ministered for four years. In 1894 he married Mary Wilson Robb, and removed to Manchester on his appointment to a tutorship in the Lancashire Independent College, a position which he held with distinction until June, 1930.

Throughout the thirty-nine years of his life in Manchester Dr. Mackintosh gave himself and his great gifts without reserve not only to the College but to the University, where he was lecturer, senior member, and at one time dean of the Faculty of Theology.

Dr. Mackintosh was a man of outstanding personality, who had profoundly influenced the thought and lives of students and ministers alike from the time of his settlement in Manchester.

A tribute to his learning was paid when, on two occasions, he was invited to take over the duties of the Professor of

Comparative Religion at the University during periods when the chair was vacant.

Dr. Mackintosh had a number of important theological works to his credit, but, unfortunately, as he quite recently confessed to the writer, his books did not sell. His first book, "Christ and the Jewish Law," appeared in 1886, and was followed in 1889 by "Essays towards a New Theology," in which he displayed sound critical insight. Other works on Apologetics, Hegel, Albrecht Ritschl, the Atonement, and Values followed one another at fairly regular intervals. His last book, "Some Central Things," which appeared last year, is regarded as a *great* little book embodying, as it does, the fruit of the author's lifelong quest for truth. He was also a contributor to "Peake's Commentary," the "Encyclopædia Britannica," the "Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics," and several Reviews.

Professor Charles Harold Dodd, M.A. (Oxon), D.D. (Aberdeen), who succeeded Professor Peake in the Rylands Chair of Biblical Exegesis and Criticism, PROFESSOR C. H. DODD. in the University of Manchester, has been appointed to fill the vacancy on the Council of Governors of this library caused by the death of Dr. Mackintosh.

The Commemoration of Founders' Day at the University of Manchester, which took place on Wednesday, the 17th of May, was marked by the conferment of FOUNDERS' DAY AT MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY. honorary degrees by the Chancellor, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, on Professor E. F. Gay, Professor J. L. Myres, and Sir John Reith.

After the recital of the names of benefactors by the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Moberley), the Chancellor reminded the Congregation that ten years had passed since he received, what he considered the greatest compliment of his life, his appointment as Chancellor of the University. During those ten years he had watched the progress of the University with ever increasing interest and admiration. The times had been more difficult and anxious than any equivalent period in its earlier history. Yet the difficulties had been surmounted. The Uni-

versity owed in particular a debt of gratitude to its Finance Committee: its shrewd, attentive, uncajolable, uncorruptible Finance Committee, and its hard-faced succession of chairmen.

The Chancellor voiced the disappointment of the University that the conferment of some of the honorary degrees had to be postponed. The Prime Minister, owing to the rearrangement of his engagements, could not be present; and on account of his recent bereavement Lord Lytton was unable to attend. Professor H. Grierson was also absent as he was on a visit to the United States. Mr. Arthur Schnabel, composer and musician, who was to have had the honorary degree of Doctor of Music conferred upon him, was also unable to attend the Founders' Day Commemoration. In his case, however, a special ceremony had been arranged on Tuesday, the 9th of May, when the degree was conferred.

The three honorary graduands were presented to the Chancellor according to the ceremonial formula, by Professor J. L. Stocks, in the following order, and in the following felicitous terms:

"SIR JOHN CHARLES WALSHAM REITH, Director-General of the British Broadcasting Corporation, for the degree of Doctor of Laws: I present to you in the flesh, his magic garment plucked from him, the chief of the magicians by whose agency 'this isle is full of noises, sounds, and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not.' His power, like Prospero's, is based on knowledge. But though, like Prospero, he is a great reader of books, of whom it might be suspected that 'his library was dukedom large enough,' it will surely need more than the wiles of an Antonio to drive him from his dukedom in Portland Place. Like Prospero, again, he has been known to raise a tempest, and there are said to be those who curse him, as Caliban cursed Prospero, for a tyrant. 'This island's mine by Sycorax, my mother, which thou tak'st from me.' But we, having no axe for him to grind, are content to play Miranda to his Prospero. We gladly give him leave to say to us the words her father spoke to her. 'Here have I, thy schoolmaster, made thee more profit than other peoples can that have more time for vainer hours, and tutors not so careful.' We greet the distinguished engineer, whose

twelve years of work, first for the company, then for the corporation, has made of our broadcasting an exemplary public service ; we mark the obstinate adherence to principle which has signalized its administration ; and we rejoice that our new magic should thus qualify Shakespeare's Milan with something of the granite of Aberdeen."

"PROFESSOR EDWARD FRANCIS GAY, of Harvard, for the degree of Doctor of Letters : I present to you a fastidious scholar and gifted administrator, who has been a powerful formative influence on more than one generation of American youth. His early researches in English economic history on the agrarian problem of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have left their mark on all later work in this field ; and the imposing series of Harvard studies in economic history proves the variety and vitality of the activity which he stimulated in his pupils. The striking success of the Graduate School of Business Administration, which he formed and directed for Harvard University, made the great business houses of the U.S.A. into his humble suitors and obsequious clients ; and when he withdrew from its direction it was found necessary to appoint four men in his place. His reputation as an economic adviser led to his being entrusted during the war with the task of collecting and digesting economic information for the Government of his country. The return to normalcy having made this task superfluous, he next spent five years in a gallant uphill struggle to make of a great newspaper a medium of information, with more result, it is to be feared, in credit than in cash. He has now returned to Harvard and to economic history, his first love. He is digging again in the records of the country in which his researches began. The lamp which has been hidden beneath the bushel of administration, or revealed only in broken reflection through the work of pupils, shines now once more with its own authentic light."

"PROFESSOR JOHN LINTON MYRES, Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, for the degree of Doctor of Science : In these days, when specialization runs to dangerous extremes, it is refreshing to present to you a scholar of encyclopædic range, who bridges by his attainments the gulf between arts and science, and whose special value to every de-

partment in which he works depends on his refusal to stay in it. He began these rebellious courses at school, forcing the examiners to award him distinctions not merely in classics and divinity but also in geology and physical geography. Later he made his University give him its geological scholarship as well as a Craven Fellowship for classics. By that time his interest in recent advances in psychology might have led him to become a philosopher if the new vistas opened by classical archæology had not diverted him to the teaching of ancient history. Probably he objects on principle to doing one thing at a time. A knowledge of the Near East, acquired by extensive travels in those parts, made him invaluable during the war to the Naval Intelligence Service, for which he ranged the Ægean, with the rank of Lieutenant Commander and in the disguise of a Greek pirate. He is made, indeed, of the quick-silver of the born adventurer, and the most familiar fact will start him at any moment on an adventure that may end anywhere. Yet his is a kindly and charitable disposition, terrifying only because of his deadly accuracy of detail and of his strange delusion that other people know as much as he does himself.

SIR JOHN REITH, returning thanks on behalf of the honorary graduates, said that the honour must be taken by Professor Gay and Professor Myers as a recognition of personal work and distinction. It was equally satisfactory to him, he said, to feel that the University of Manchester in the conferment of his degree honoured the organization with which he was connected. He could say that the B.B.C. had endeavoured to merit such recognition, and that, whether merited or not, it came as an encouragement in times when, and from a quarter whence, encouragement was peculiarly welcome.

There seemed as many opinions as people who listened to broadcasting, and it was a somewhat melancholy reflection that equal unpopularity with every sort of opinion and variety of taste was some criterion of taste—some proof of level balance. One could say this, that although it might not be possible to be pleased with the B.B.C. all the time, it certainly ought to be possible to be pleased with it occasionally.

To bring interests and pleasures into homes was obviously the prime objective of the service, and no one should disparage

that obligation of entertainment. But its service could not be confined to entertainment alone. These etheric vibrations trapped and converted into intelligible sounds were exercising an effect upon the individual more profound than merely to relieve his boredom or to give him a little news. An agency of almost illimitable power was unloosed. Broad and far through this land and every land this power increased, none greater, that he knew of, for good, none greater for ill. It operated unseen, it might operate, and did, in some countries, unchecked.

"On the character and conduct of the individual in affairs national and international—mark that—we can trace the workings of this mysterious instrument," he said. "It is said that so little consideration has been given to it. Pronouncements on incidentals and superficialities are common; how rare on its fundamentals, which sooner or later will be found to have moulded the future of civilisation." In its educational work the B.B.C. claimed the sympathy and aid of such great teaching centres as this. The B.B.C. could in no sense compete, but it might reach where the University could not, and it might bring recruits to the University.

"Is it matter for ridicule or complaint that we take account of moral or spiritual values?" he asked. Final judgment must be in terms of the effect of the service on the responsibility and intelligence of the individual; his duty to himself, his neighbours, and his God. If there was one tragic defect in the educational system he believed it would be found in the comparative failure to look beyond the walls of schools and universities, its failure to orientate towards and to prepare for the problems of life, and its failure to correlate the body politic and the body spiritual. Wherein, if not there, could we find an explanation for the deplorable indigence in leadership in every field so manifest to-day?

There were many criticisms of the B.B.C. It was said that the payer of the piper could call the tune, but it was not explained how the B.B.C. could find room for 20,000,000 different tunes. Perhaps here he might be allowed to refer to the constructive, responsible criticism given in the columns of the "Manchester Guardian," which was unsurpassed in any newspaper in the

land. Some said that there was not sufficient democracy in the government of the B.B.C. It was time for a new definition of democracy. A good democrat might reject the democratic method of achieving a democratic end. The world's sufferings and the world's problems were of human origin. Then they were capable of human control, and if a man by default or by deliberate act caused the machine to fail, then he or a better man must put it right. Was any other attitude tenable these days? So often criticism of our governors and statesmen was based on the craze for notoriety, upon jealousy, desire to obstruct, to exercise a cheap and foolish wit. That was anti-social, anti-national, damnable. If a man could not show how better to guide the plough, let him leave the furrow and be quiet; and let those who carry heavy burdens pay no heed to the irresponsibilities and uncertainties of the electoral system and act as their conscience and intelligence bade them. There were greater dangers far in timidity and hesitation than in courageous definite action; and the North could teach a lesson to the South in such respects as that.

The University will suffer serious loss at the end of the present session through the retirement of several of its professors. The changes will be most severely felt in the department of French, for not only will Professor Kastner retire from the Chair of French Language and Literature which he has occupied since 1909, but Professor Orr will also vacate the Chair of French Language, in consequence of his appointment to the Chair of French and Romance Philology in the University of Edinburgh.

UNIVERSITY
STAFF
CHANGES.

Professor Kastner has been one of the University Representatives on the Council of Governors of the Rylands Library since 1915.

Dr. Eugène Vinaver, M.A., B.Litt. (Oxford), at present University Reader in French Literature at Oxford, has been appointed to the Manchester Chair of French Language and Literature in succession to Professor Kastner, and will enter upon his duties in September. While at Oxford Dr. Vinaver founded the journal "Arthuriana" which has now become "Medium

Aevum," the organ of the Society for the Study of Mediæval Language and Literature. He has in the press a critical edition of Malory's "Morte d' Arthur."

Professor Dickie will complete his term of office as Professor and Director of the School of Architecture at the end of the session and is to be succeeded by Mr. R. A. Cordingley, Master of Architecture in Armstrong College, University of Durham, and resident architect of Durham Cathedral. Professor Cordingley returns to his Alma Mater, for he graduated in architecture at Manchester in 1922, and was appointed assistant lecturer in architecture in the University.

Mr. W. A. Pantin, M.A., who has been Bishop Fraser Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History in the University of Manchester since 1926, has been elected to a lecturership in history at Oriel College, Oxford. Mr. Pantin, an old Westminster scholar, took a first class in history in 1923, was Dixon Scholar of Christ Church, 1923-25, Bryce Research Student of the University of Oxford in 1924-25, and won the Alexander Prize Medal of the Royal Historical Society in 1927.

MR. W. A.
PANTIN.

Mr. Pantin has been a welcome contributor to the "Bulletin," and whilst congratulating him upon his appointment to the Oriel lectureship, we deeply regret his removal from Manchester, where he has won golden opinions.

Next session the University is to have a new Honours School of Greek and English, which will exist side by side with the present Classical and English Schools. The new degree course will concentrate on the literary sides of the two parent schools, discarding those parts of the curriculum which are concerned more with the language than with the literature. The students, however, will have to pass a Greek language test at the end of the first year, and during their course they will read in Greek six tragedies, two comedies, and other poetry and prose. A certain knowledge of Latin will be demanded, but Latin literature does not come into the degree course.

HONOURS
SCHOOL OF
GREEK AND
ENGLISH.

The new school is to be primarily a literary school, and it

is hoped that an intensive study of Homer, Greek tragedy, Plato and Aristotle on the one side, and of Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and the English critics on the other, will produce scholars with real literary knowledge and appreciation. The blending of modern and classical literature in one degree course is a new departure for Manchester University. Aberdeen has a school whose organization resembles that of the Manchester experiment, and Sheffield has a joint School of Latin and French.

The Jubilee of the admission of women to the University of Manchester will be celebrated in the month of July, and the authorities of the University have decided to mark the occasion by the conferment of honorary degrees on three women of outstanding merit during the celebrations.

JUBILEE OF
WOMEN
GRADUATES.

Miss Sara Burstall, M.A., who was Headmistress of the Manchester High School for twenty-six years, and Honorary Lecturer on education in the University of Manchester, and is at present Member of the Advisory Committee on Education, Colonial Office, is to receive the degree of Doctor of Laws; Miss Eileen Power, Professor of Economic History in the London School of Economics, and writer upon medieval history, is to become Doctor of Letters; and Dr. Harriette Chick, student of dietetic diseases and the chemistry of food, is to receive the degree of Doctor of Science.

Dr. James Tait, F.B.A., Honorary Professor in the University of Manchester, who celebrated his seventieth birthday on the 19th of June, was honoured by his old University of Oxford, on the 9th of May, when the honorary degree of D.Litt. was conferred upon him.

OXFORD
HONOURS DR.
JAMES TAIT.

It was appropriate that on the same occasion another septuagenarian Oxford historian, the Reverend E. H. Salter, F.B.A., should be similarly honoured.

The Public Orator, Mr. C. Bailey, introduced the two graduands as: "*duo septuagenarii quos Clio Musa 'Nascentes placido lumine viderat,' ut penetralium suorum antistites fierent, qui secreta oppidorum excuterent et regionum scrutarentur annales.*"

Professor Tait was presented as : " a Balliol man formerly tutor and now honorary Fellow of Pembroke, who served more than thirty years as Professor of Medieval History at Manchester. *Quanta assiduitate chartas, chronica, chirographa, enucleaverit testes sunt, tot libri editi tot scripti commentarii.* Beginning with Manchester he has in many learned volumes exhaustively illustrated the early municipal history of England, and hopes shortly to complete a *maximum opus, ex quo quantas partes in patriæ annalibus egerint municipia manifeste apparebit.* A mountaineer and a lover of music, he has reached the high peaks of history and harmonized the diverse notes of medieval charters."

The Vice-Chancellor, the Reverend F. J. Lys, Provost of Worcester, received Professor Tait with the sentence : "*Vir doctissime, in historia alioqui et præsertim comitatus tui evolvenda insignis.*"

Dr. Salter, who by the recent publication of his edition of the "Registrum Cancellarii Oxoniensis, 1434-1469,"
DR. H. E. SALTER.
 has placed all students of medieval Oxford in debt to his learning and scholarship, was described by the Public Orator as " one who dedicated his learning to the city and county of Oxford, and to the University and its Colleges. His undergraduate career at New College has been succeeded by a long pastoral life *ubi quid datur oti illudit chartis.* He has been responsible for nearly thirty volumes of the Oxford Historical Society—*Illic Abbatiarum cartularia invenias, Civitatis munimenta, Antiquarii collectanea, Collegiorum acta, Universitatis archiva, Cancellarii denique Registrum.*"

" He might be described as a reincarnation of the seventeenth century antiquarian Antony Wood. In honouring this *char-tarum investigatorem insatiabilem* the University was following the recent example of Magdalen and the City."

Dr. Salter was greeted by the Vice-Chancellor as : *Vir erudite, in vetustate et academice et civitatis nostræ exquirenda laudem et gratias merite.*

Some of Dr. Salter's Oxford friends, his junior fellows in medieval history, propose to show their gratitude to him by dedi-

cating to him a volume of essays which they themselves have written. They belong to a group of tutors and other students of medieval history, who, during the last three years, have met periodically to discuss historical problems, and some of their essays were prepared in the first instance for the purpose of these discussions. From the first Dr. Salter has been a member of this group, taking a keen and sympathetic interest in its proceedings.

SALTER
MEMORIAL
VOLUME.

In this and in other ways Dr. Salter has done more than bring distinction to the University; he has won the affectionate regard of all who know him, and by his help and advice he has generously encouraged many younger scholars.

The volume, which will contain a list of Dr. Salter's writings and an introduction by the Regius Professor of Modern History, is to be published by the Clarendon Press if 150 subscriptions at £1 each are forthcoming. Subscriptions should be sent to the Secretary of the Clarendon Press, Oxford. The names of subscribers will be printed in the volume.

On Friday, the 2nd of June, the Reverend Dr. J. Scott Lidgett, President of the Methodist Conference, in the presence of a large and representative gathering, unveiled a bronze memorial tablet on the wall of the chapel of Hartley Methodist College, Manchester, which bears the following brief tribute to the work of the late Professor Arthur S. Peake, who for thirty-seven years served the College as senior tutor, and for twenty-five years, was Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

MEMORIAL
TO PRO-
FESSOR
A. S. PEAKE.

The inscription on the tablet reads:—

"In revered and loving memory of Arthur S. Peake. Born 1865. Died 1929. Teacher in this College, 1892-1929. Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester, 1904-1929. He gave counsel by his understanding. Wise were his words in their instruction."

In the address which followed the unveiling ceremony Dr. Lidgett spoke feelingly of Dr. Peake as a friend, a comrade, and in many respects a guide.

Arthur S. Peake, continued Dr. Lidgett, was a great combination of great qualities. He was a distinguished scholar, and took rank in the first class of those who pursued like studies with himself. He was equally great as a teacher—and this cannot be said of all scholars—of those who attained to the standard of university education, and of plain, simple people throughout the land, whose intelligent interest in him and his teaching was inspired by the common faith which held him and them together in one human fellowship of giving and receiving. He was not a mere scholar, or a mere teacher, he was a theological thinker, and all his scholarship, and his acumen as a critic, simply fed him with great and trustworthy material for the teaching in which he presented his faith. Whether as scholar, as teacher, or as theologian, his whole personality was radiated by the illumination of Christ his Lord.

In his work as a great critic Dr. Peake had been distinguished by taking the whole of Scripture for his province. Distrusted by obscurantists, he was therefore the leader and guide for all those who loved light, liberty and catholicity of thought, for all those who believed that the living spirit did not end as a living influence when Scripture was completed. He possessed the ability to differentiate between the essential and the incidental. He stood as a typical guide for his Church in the days in which they lived and in the days immediately to come.

Arthur S. Peake, said the President, made a great renunciation when he left Oxford to obey the call of Hartley College. He left a most attractive career for what was a noble adventure, and a great dedication of his gifts to the service of the Church to which he owed so much. But it is difficult to imagine a career at Oxford that could have done so much for the Church, for scholarship, and for the influence of learning upon a great community, as did his coming to Manchester, to set a standard for this college. He did a greater work here than he would have done at Oxford, and Methodism owes to him an incalculable debt.

Dr. Lidgett concluded, what was a noble tribute to a noble man, by an appreciation of Dr. Peake's work for the union of the Methodist Churches. They had been closely associated in

the union negotiations, asserted Dr. Lidgett, and the consummation of Union owed much to the patience, the sympathy, and to the enthusiastic work of Dr. Peake. Often the disagreements of a committee were transformed into understanding and agreement by his reconciling spirit.

The appearance of the name of Miss Horniman in the Birthday List of Honours, as the recipient of the strictly limited Order of the Companionship of Honour, in appreciation of her brave and generous work for the theatre by which Manchester in particular, and British drama as a whole, so greatly benefited in the years that preceded the war, has been greeted with a chorus of grateful approbation by her hosts of friends, not only in and around Manchester, but throughout the world.

COMPANIONSHIP OF
HONOUR
FOR MISS
HORNIMAN.

For twenty years Miss Horniman faithfully served the interests of English drama in the North of England. More than six hundred plays, by every sort of author both native and foreign, from Euripides to Stanley Houghton and St. John Ervine, were produced at the Gaiety Theatre in Manchester, which quickly became a training ground for young Lancashire writers, where they could obtain the only training that is of any service to dramatists—the chance to see their plays actually performed on the stage.

The result of Miss Horniman's enterprise was to place Manchester in a position which made it, theatrically, almost unique among the cities of the world; but it fell from its high estate when this home and school of pure drama was allowed to degenerate into a picture theatre. Manchester, we were told, was full of gratitude to Miss Horniman for what she had done for it, and the extent of that debt becomes still more apparent as time passes. It was prepared to do anything for this courageous lady except go to her theatre in sufficient numbers to prevent it from becoming a picture house!

Another enterprise to which Miss Horniman lent her aid was the Irish National Theatre, a natural outgrowth of the Celtic Revival, which in itself was but a phase of the Irish National Movement, which met with a good deal of ridicule in this country,

because of the extravagances and absurdities in which some of the more aggressive spirits indulged, yet amongst literary people who looked upon it with unprejudiced eyes it aroused a real sympathetic interest.

The aim of the little band of enthusiasts who were responsible for laying the foundation of this national drama, some thirty years ago, was to render in dramatic form some of the best of the fascinating legendary tales and traditions which tell of the faith and life of the Irish people, of the deeds of their heroes, and of the glories of their kings, and in so doing to substitute a live national drama worthy of the name, for what Mr. Yeats described as: "The machine-made play of modern commerce, that lifeless product of conventional cleverness, from which we come away knowing nothing new about ourselves, seeing life with no new eyes, and hearing it with no new ears."

In the realization of their aims Miss Horniman played a very important part, by generously undertaking, not only to provide these struggling enthusiasts with a permanent home at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin, but also by providing them with a subsidy for five years, so that they might develop the literary and dramatic instincts of the Irish people. Until the advent of this fairy god-mother they had had to write their own plays, and with their limited resources to produce them, often under the most distressing circumstances, and amidst the most inconvenient surroundings.

Thirty years ago there were no Irish plays except the melodramas dealing with the insurrection of 1798 and similar subjects. To-day there are hundreds of plays dealing with every aspect of modern life in town and country, with characters of Irish mythology, and with life in other lands, written or translated by Irish authors.

In the early days of this movement some of the finest productions were played to very sparse audiences, and when Synge's "Playboy in the Western World" was first produced the police had to be called in to quell the opposition and to remove those who protested.

Since those exciting days there has been a great change. The Abbey Theatre has created a taste for sincere and original

drama, with an atmosphere which allows of a latitude of expression that would not have been dreamt of thirty years ago. In the period of transition Miss Horniman's help was invaluable.

Indeed, when the history of the English and Irish movement during the first quarter of the twentieth century comes to be written, the historian will find that much of his work will have to be written around Miss Horniman, and that he is indebted to her for her foresight in preserving the press record of her courageous enterprise in Manchester, which is contained in seventeen volumes of newspaper and periodical cuttings, covering the whole period from the time of her taking over the commonplace Gaiety Theatre, which under her effective personal direction speedily developed into one of the most widely known theatres of the world, down to the time when she relinquished its ownership and management in the early part of 1921.

Another signal service to students of the modern drama which Miss Horniman has rendered, is in the ten volumes of fugitive but none the less valuable material dealing with the history of the Irish National Theatre from its beginnings in 1901, which Miss Horniman has carefully collected and deposited in the Rylands Library, side by side with the Gaiety collection.

The Rylands Collection of English manuscripts has been enriched since the publication of our last issue through the acquisition by gift of upwards of three hundred letters, which have been presented to the library by the Executors of the late Miss M. E. Gaskell. The letters, of which a large proportion are addressed to Mrs. Gaskell, and are still in the envelopes in which they reached that lady, will be kept together, and will be known as "The Gaskell Collection of Letters."

THE GASKELL
COLLECTION
OF LETTERS.

It is not yet possible to form a correct estimate of the importance of this collection, but in due course it will be reduced to order and made accessible to students.

In the meantime, with the object of giving some idea of its value to students of literature of the first half of the nineteenth century, we have selected, almost at random, the following names of noteworthy literary personalities of the

period, whose letters are in this collection : Charles Dickens was responsible for thirty letters in his own hand-writing, bearing his well-known signature, not only in the letters, but also on the outside of the envelopes : Matthew Arnold, Samuel Bamford, Thomas Lovell Beddoes, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Robert Browning, Thomas Campbell, Jane Carlyle, Thomas Carlyle, Richard Cobden, Sara Coleridge, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Mrs. D. M. Craik, Charles Darwin, Charles Dickens, Maria Edgeworth, "George Eliot," Ralph Waldo Emerson, John Forster, J. Anthony Froude, W. H. Furness, François Guizot, Henry Hallam, Sir Charles Hallé, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Rowland Hill, Sidney Herbert, Mary Howitt, William Howitt, Thomas Hughes, Victor Hugo, Leigh Hunt, T. H. Huxley, Charles Kemble, Charles Kingsley, Charles Lamb, Walter Savage Landor, H. W. Longfellow, W. C. Macready, J. D. Maurice, F. Max-Müller, G. Mazzini, Prosper Mérimée, Florence Nightingale, Patricia Nightingale (Lady Verney), Caroline Norton, J. Noel Paton, Charles Reade, Samuel Rogers, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, John Ruskin, "George Sand," Sir Walter Scott, Jules Simon, Robert Southey, W. W. Story, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Tom Taylor, Alfred Tennyson, W. Makepeace Thackeray, James Watt, William Wordsworth.

The publication of the "Interim Report of the Committee on House of Commons Personnel and Politics, 1264-1832," which deals with the available materials for a record of the personnel and politics of past members of the House of Commons, has aroused much interest. A meeting was held on the 22nd of March, at which, in the absence of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Salisbury presided, the object of which was to decide whether work could be begun on a proposed history, and a memorandum was submitted showing that much had already been done by historical students, committees and private individuals in the various counties. It was estimated that £30,000 would be needed to complete a history, but that in the meantime work might well be begun on specially selected periods. Lord Salisbury was elected Vice-Chairman, Mr. Buchan, Treasurer, and Colonel Wedgwood, Secretary of the Committee.

HISTORY
OF THE
HOUSE OF
COMMONS.

The Committee has since issued the following appeal :—
To Past and Present Members of either House of Parliament.

The Prime Minister has said, " I want this work to be proceeded with, to be put through. It is time it was done." This committee has therefore been appointed, at his instigation, for the making of this history of Parliament. We cannot now get large subscriptions from individuals, but we can and must enlist your sympathetic support and have some funds in hand. It will be the life history of those who formed Parliament—very much your business.

We are dividing seven hundred years of Parliament into seventeen parts, or, including Scotland and Ireland before the Union, three more parts. Each part will be complete in itself. There will be full lists of the members of each House in each Parliament, the biographies of the members of the Commons, and the deductions drawn from this raw material as to the mind, interests, and status of the Parliament men. It will be no " Who's Who ? " but history hitherto untouched.

Conscience, mentality, and character inside Parliament, were always much the same as outside. The gradual breaking down of prejudice and the opening of doors to thought, the gradual growth in the experience of the machinery of civilization, the relation and reaction of governors to governed, these can be traced nowhere better than in a history of Parliament on these lines. Not only is the British Parliament unique in its perdurance and continuity, but we alone are in a position to provide the material necessary for this study.

The growth of a sense of citizenship, of altruism and humanitarian sentiments, the efforts to reconcile Christianity with the material world, all these can be practically traced in the work we have in mind better than anywhere else. And, as a sample of the progress of political thought, we conceive it to be of great importance. All this would appear in the summation based upon the facts disclosed.

Moreover, for those to whom this letter is addressed, Parliament is an Alma Mater, our antecessor if not ancestor. Schools, colleges, church and bar, university—all these lesser bodies have done something of a filial duty to their corporate organization.

It is our turn to perform similar service to that institution to which we have, or had, the honour to belong. Will you send the hon. treasurer (John Buchan) some sum not exceeding a pound if you think that this largely overdue work should be put in hand?

We have considered what recognition might be made of those thus starting the work. A list printed in the first volume is not consonant with the dignity of a national work, or with fundamental basis of a Parliament always composed of peers and equals, whether rich or poor. We hope all members will subscribe now, and that many may hereafter buy at least one volume. If they should do so, we will try to have bound up with their first copy a printed page bearing their own name and claim, or such other matter, pictorial, heraldic, biographical, or genealogical, as they may supply.

The complete work, in some thirty volumes, will be beyond the reach of most members, but each part will be complete in itself, and in one or other of those parts every member will have a personal interest which might be thus enhanced. Please let us have support from all, however small the contribution.

Considerable use has already been made of "The Pink Papers," now in the possession of the John Rylands Library. They consist mainly of a large quantity of material gathered together by Mr. W. Duncombe Pink, of Leigh, Lancashire, with the object of compiling a biographical dictionary of Members of Parliament. The dictionary was unfinished at the time of Mr. Pink's death, but by his expressed desire the whole of his collections were handed over to the library, where they have been arranged and made accessible for reference, and already have proved of considerable value to students.

In our last issue we gave some details of the Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, which consist of a group of portions of twelve manuscripts, containing different books of the Greek Bible, discovered in Egypt and acquired by Mr. A. Chester Beatty about three years ago. Eight of the manuscripts contain portions, varying in size, of the Books of

CHESTER
BEATTY
BIBLICAL
PAPYRI.

Genesis, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Esther, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Ecclesiasticus ; three of them contain portions of the Gospels and the Acts, the Pauline Epistles, and the Revelation ; while one contains the end of the lost Greek original of the Book of Enoch, and an unidentified Christian homily. In date they range from the second century to the fourth, or possibly the fifth, and collectively they are the earliest extant manuscripts of any considerable size of the Greek Bible.

We now welcome the announcement of the proposal to publish the complete texts of these important documents. The first part to appear contains a short general description of the whole collection, with a specimen facsimile of each manuscript. The second, which will be published shortly, will contain the complete text of the Gospels and Acts manuscript, with textual apparatus and an introduction. The Pauline Epistles and the Revelation will constitute the third part ; and it is hoped to follow these with the Old Testament books in succession. Each part is to be accompanied by a complete photographic facsimile in a separate volume.

The texts have been transcribed and prepared for the press by Sir Frederick Kenyon ; the printers are The Oxford University Press ; and the facsimile plates are the work of Messrs. Emery Walker Ltd., who are the publishers of the series.

Sir Ernest A. Wallis Budge, the eminent orientalist, has rendered another service to scholarship by the publication, in two volumes, of an English translation, accompanied by the Syriac text, of the "Chronography" of Abu'l-Faraj, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus. THE CHRON-
OGRAPHY
OF BAR
HEBRAEUS.

The first volume contains a complete translation of the first part of the "Makhtëbhânûth Zabhnê," or the "Chronological and Political History of the World from the Creation to the year A.D. 1286." This translation has been made from an edition of the Syriac text, printed in Nestorian characters, edited by Père Bedjan, and published in Paris in 1890. It is preceded by several illuminating introductory chapters dealing with the life and times of the author, and is furnished with an exhaustive index of seventy double-column pages.

Bedjan's edition of the Syriac text having become so scarce as to be practically unprocurable Sir Ernest Budge felt that the time had come for a new edition of the text. Realising that the reproduction of the text by type would be a very expensive undertaking, it was decided to reproduce by roto-graphed facsimile the smaller of the two manuscripts of the work in the Bodleian (Hunt. No. 52), which was acquired in Syria in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and presented to the Bodleian by the Reverend Robert Huntington. This MS., which consists of 402 double-column pages, is reproduced page for page in the second volume of the edition under review. The advantage of such a facsimile over a type reproduction is that the student will know for a certainty what the scribe did write, including his mistakes. The text of the MS. reproduced differs from that employed by Bedjan, and consequently presents a variant text.

Bar Hebraeus was born in Melitene in Asia Minor, in the year A.D. 1225-26. He was the son of Aaron, a distinguished physician of Hebrew descent and was commonly known as Bar 'Ebhrâyâ, i.e. the "Son of the Hebrew." Whether his father or a more remote ancestor made the change over to Jacobite Christianity is uncertain. The name given to Bar Hebraeus at birth was John, and although it is not known why he took the name of Gregory it is assumed that he adopted it when he was consecrated bishop, at the early age of twenty years. He had another name : Abu' l-Faraj, but there is nothing to show why he adopted this name, or why it was given to him, and no satisfactory explanation of its meaning is forthcoming.

When still very young Bar Hebraeus devoted himself to the study of Syriac and Arabic and presumably Hebrew. Later he studied philosophy and theology, and under the direction of his father, and other distinguished physicians, he acquired a considerable knowledge of medicine. He later removed to Antioch, always pursuing his studies. Whilst there he received a visit from the Jacobite Patriarch, Ignatius Saba, and when about seventeen years of age he became a monk and began to lead the life of a hermit. From Antioch he removed to Tripoli, where he was instructed in rhetoric by a Nestorian rhetorician. In

the year 1246, when only twenty years of age, he was consecrated bishop of Gûbôs, by the Patriarch Ignatius II. In the following year he was transferred to the See of Lakabhin, and in 1253 he was transferred to Aleppo. Finally, in 1264, he was elected Primate or Maphrian of the East.

Bar Hebraeus did not allow his episcopal duties to interfere with his studies ; he took advantage of the numerous visitations he had to make throughout his province to consult the libraries and to converse with the scholars he happened to meet. In this way he gradually accumulated an immense erudition in almost all branches of secular and religious knowledge, and in many cases he mastered the bibliography of the various subjects which he undertook to treat. How he could have devoted so much time to systematic study is almost beyond comprehension.

His principal claim to our gratitude is not in his original productions, but rather in that he has preserved and systematized the work of his predecessors. He was philosopher, poet, grammarian, physician, Biblical commentator, historian and theologian, and was held in the highest esteem by all his contemporaries.

His death took place in the year 1286 and he was mourned, not only by the men of his own faith, but also by the Nestorians and the Armenians. He was buried at the Convent of Mar Matthew, near Mosul, which for some thirteen centuries has been one of the most important centres of Jacobite doctrine.

An account of his death was written by his brother, Bar Sawma, who relates that from the time when Bar Hebraeus was twenty years old until he drew his last breath he never ceased from reading and writing, and yet, notwithstanding this devotion to books, he did not cease to build new churches and restore those that were overthrown from the beginning of his episcopate. His brother gives a list of his writings to the number of thirty-one, which Sir Ernest has reproduced for us in English.

The most important of the works of Bar Hebraeus is a commentary on the entire Bible, both critical and doctrinal, which is known as the "Book of the Storehouse of Secrets." It is based on the Peshitta, and takes note of the variant readings in the Hebrew, and the early Greek and Oriental versions, and also

of the Hexapla of Origen. It is of prime importance for the recovery of the texts of those early versions.

His great encyclopædic work, which deals with almost every branch of human knowledge, and comprises the whole of the Aristotelean doctrine, after Avicenna and other Arabic writers, is known as *Hêwath Hekhmêthâ*, or the "Book of the Butter of Wisdom."

His principal historical work is the "Chronography," of which Sir Ernest has furnished us with the present translation of the first part.

In the course of his introductory chapters Sir Ernest describes the work as : a chronological and historical encyclopædia into which an enormous amount of information of various kinds has been crammed. It is what Bar Hebraeus said about kings and their peoples which fills the book, and it must be admitted, that it forms the chief interest of the work. He deals with histories, religions, languages, the manners and customs of peoples, and adds biographies of great warriors and physicians ; he describes battles, sieges, and the capture of cities, the coming of comets and extraordinary appearances in the heavens, earthquakes, famines, falls of snow, and the freezing of the Tigris and Euphrates ; the prices of foodstuffs in times of famine and scarcity. He also reports Court scandals, repeats gossips of all kinds, and tells laughable stories (many of which are extremely oriental in character). Some of his remarks on portents derived from the appearances of the sun and other heavenly bodies will remind the reader of passages in "Old Moore's Almanack." Nothing seems to be too absurd, or foolish, or unimportant for him to set down in writing. How much he believed of all the absurd things he reports it is impossible to say, but it is clear that he tried to fulfil the task of remembrancer.

His intention was, as he plainly says, to instruct his people (the Jacobites) both the old and the young, the educated and the uneducated. But he knew well that mere chronological data form dry reading, and though he included all these he supplemented them with a great mass of interesting and arresting facts which would please the young and uneducated, and at the same time appeal to the scholar. His "Chronography" is in

reality an "Introduction to the Study of Ancient History," and is a popular handbook or compendium of chronology for the use of students.

The work is published in two substantial octavo volumes by the Oxford University Press, at the price of Five Guineas.

In the course of a summary examination of the fragment of two leaves of an early fifteenth-century manuscript of a portion of the "Miller's Tale" of Chaucer, which was formerly in the Althorp Library, and now is preserved in the Rylands Library, it was found to present a number of divergences from the published texts and it was thought to be desirable to submit it to a fuller and more careful examination. Mr. Guthrie Vine, the sub-librarian, was consequently invited to make a comparative study of the MS. with the various texts, and we have much pleasure in printing the interesting results of his study elsewhere in the present issue.

CHAUCER'S
"MILLER'S
TALE."

The article is accompanied by facsimiles of the four pages of the fragment, and of a single page from each of the first and the second editions of the "Canterbury Tales," printed by William Caxton. One interesting conclusion that Mr. Vine has drawn is that the Rylands fragment belongs to the same group of manuscripts from which Caxton printed his first edition.

The following is a preliminary list of the public lectures which have been arranged for the ensuing session of 1933-34 :—

RYLANDS
PUBLIC
LECTURES.

Wednesday, 11th October, 1933. "The Tragedy of 26 B.C." By R. S. Conway, Litt.D., D.Litt., Dott. on Univ., F.B.A., Professor-Emeritus of the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th November, 1933. "The Mind of Paul : Change and Development." By C. H. Dodd, M.A., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis and Criticism in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th December, 1933. "Shakespeare's Jew." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th January, 1934. "Prehistoric Migrations

in Atlantic Europe, and the traces they have left." By H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., Professor of Geography in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th February, 1934. "Sir John Fortescue and the Law of Nature." By E. F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester.

The following titles represent a selection of the works added to the shelves of the library since the publication of our last issue:—

ACCESSIONS
TO THE
LIBRARY.

ART: ARNOLD (Sir T. W.), "The Old and New Testament in Muslim Art," 8vo; BYRON (R.) and RICE (D. T.), "The birth of Western painting: a history of colour, form and iconography, illustrated from the paintings of Mistra and Mount Athos, of Giotto, Duccio and El Greco (94 plates)," 4to; CASSON (S.), "The technique of early Greek Sculpture," 8vo; DOELGER (F. J.), "Die Fisch-Denkmäler in der frühchristlichen Plastik, Malerei, und Kleinkunst," Lief. 1, 8vo; MARILLIER (H. C.), "English tapestries of the 18th century: a handbook to the post-Mortlake productions of English weavers," 8vo; Marillier (H. C.), "Handbook to the Teniers tapestries," 8vo; "WALPOLE SOCIETY, vol. 20: Vertue note-books, vol. 2," Folio.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. "A catalogue of the mediæval manuscripts, by M. R. James," 8vo; BLUM (A.), "Les origines du papier," 8vo; BÖMER (K), "Internationale Bibliographie des Zeitungswesens," 8vo; BORCHLING (C.) and CLAUSSEN (B.), "Niederdeutsche Bibliographie . . . bis zum Jahre 1800, Lief. 8: 1547-1559," 8vo; BRITISH MUSEUM. "General catalogue of printed books, new edition, vol. 4: Amer-Anne," Folio; "CATALOGO general de la libreria Espanola e Hispano-Americano, annos 1901-1930, tome 1: A.-Ch," 8vo; CORDIER (H.), "Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à la péninsule Indochinoise: Index," 8vo; DIEHL (R.), "Erhard Ratdolt: Ein Meisterdrucker des 15 und 16 Jahrhunderts," 8vo; KENYON (Sir. F. G.), "Books and readers in ancient Greece and Rome," 8vo; LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY. "A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts, by M. R. James and C. Jenkins," 8vo; McKERROW (R. B.) and FERGUSON

(F. S.), "Title-page borders used in England and Scotland, 1485-1640," 4to ; PEETERS-FONTAINAS (J.), "Bibliographie des impressions Espagnoles des Pays-Bas," 8vo ; RIVIÈRE (E. M.), "Corrections et additions à la Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus : Supplement au de Backer-Sommervogel," 8vo ; SAULMIER (E.) et MARTIN (A.), "Bibliographie des travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'histoire de la France de 1500 à 1789," 8vo ; SCHROTTENLOHER (K.), "Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte in Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 1517-1585," 8vo ; TCHEMERZINE (A.), "Bibliographie d'éditions originales et rares d'auteurs français des 15^e au 18^e siècles," 7 vols., 8vo ; THIEME (H. P.), "Bibliographie de la littérature française de 1800 à 1930," 2 vols., 8vo.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY : ALLEN (F. J.), "The great church towers of England," 8vo ; ALLEN (W. E. D.), "A history of the Georgian people from the beginning down to the Russian conquest in the 19th century," 8vo ; ANDRÉ (L.), "Les sources de l'histoire de France : 1610-1715, tome 6 : Histoire maritime et coloniale, et histoire religieuse," 8vo ; ANTHES (R.), "Lebensregeln und Lebensweisheit der alten Aegypter," 8vo ; ASHBY (T.), "Some Italian scenes and festivals," 8vo ; ATKINSON (T. D.), "An architectural history of the Benedictine Monastery of Saint Ethelreda, at Ely," 2 vols., Folio ; BAKER (G. P.), "Charlemagne and the United States of Europe," 8vo ; BENNETT (J. W. W.), "Documents on International Affairs, 1931," 8vo ; BERKELEY (G. F. H.), "Italy in the making, 1815-1846," 8vo ; BETHELL (J.), "Germany : a companion to German studies," 8vo ; "BIOGRAPHIE Nationale . . . de Belgique," 25 vols., 8vo ; BONNENFANT (Chanoine), "Histoire générale du diocèse d'Evreux Illustrée," 2 vols., 4to ; BROOKES (E. H.), "The history of native policy in South Africa from 1830," 8vo ; BUCKLAND (C. S. B.), "Metternich and the British Government from 1809 to 1813," 8vo ; "BYNG PAPERS, selected from the letters and papers of Admiral Sir George Byng . . . and his son John Byng, and edited by Brian Tunstall (Navy Records Society)," 3 vols., 8vo ; "CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY, vol. 9 : The Roman Republic, 133-44 B.C.," 8vo ; "CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA, vol. 6 : The Indian

Empire, edited by H. H. Dodwell," 8vo ; CECIL (H.), "Metternich, 1773-1859 : a study of his period and personality," 8vo ; CHAMBERS (J. D.), "Nottinghamshire in the 18th century : a study of life and labour under the Squirearchy," 8vo ; CHEW (H. M.), "The English ecclesiastical tenants-in-chief and knight service," 8vo ; CHURCH (L. F.), "Oglethorpe : a study of philanthropy in England and Georgia," 8vo ; GENOA. "Christopher Columbus : documents and proofs of his Genoese origin," Folio ; CLOUSTON (J. S.), "A history of Orkney," 8vo ; CONSITT (Francis), "The London Weavers' Company, vol. 1," 8vo ; "CORPUS CODICUM ISLANDICORUM medii aevi, no. 4 : Codex Frisianus (Sagas of the Kings of Norway) MS. no. 45 in the Armagnæan collection in the Univ. of Copenhagen with an introduction by H. Hermannsson," Folio ; COULTON (G. G.), "Scottish abbeys and social life," 8vo ; CRAM (R. A.), "The Cathedral Palma de Mallorca : an architectural study," 8vo ; CRAVEN (W. F.), "Dissolution of the Virginia Company : the failure of a colonial experiment," 8vo ; DALMAN (G.), "Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina, Band 2 : Der Ackerbau," 8vo ; DUNHAM (W. H.), "Radulphi de Hengham Summae," 8vo ; EMDEN (C. S.), "The people and the constitution," 8vo ; ETTINGER (A. A.), "The Mission to Spain of Pierre Soulié, 1853-1855 : a study in the Cuban diplomacy of the United States," 8vo ; "EXCAVATIONS carried out in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928 on behalf of the British Academy, preliminary and second reports," 4to ; GARDNER (E. A.), "Greece and the Ægean," 8vo ; GARVIN (J. L.), "The life of Joseph Chamberlain, 1836-1895," 2 vols., 8vo ; GFRORER (F.), "Byzantinische Geschichte," 1872-1877, 3 vols., 8vo ; GLANVILLE (Ranulf de), "De legibus et consuetudinibus Regni Angliæ, edited by G. F. Woodbine," 8vo ; HAIG (Sir W.), "Comparative tables of Muhammadan and Christian dates," 8vo ; HALÉVY (E.), "Histoire du peuple anglais au 19^e siècle. Epilogue (1895-1914)," 2 vols. ; HANOTAUX (G.), "Histoire des colonies françaises, tome 5 : L'Inde et l'Indochine," 4to ; HATTERSLEY (A. F.), "South Africa, 1652-1933," 8vo ; HAWARD (Sir H.), "London County Council from within : forty years of official recollections," 8vo ; HEARNshaw (F. J. C.), "Conservatism in England : an analytical,

historical and political survey," 8vo ; HIGHAM (F. M. G.), "Charles I: a study," 8vo ; HINE (R. L.), "Hitchin worthies: four centuries of English life," 8vo ; HIRD (J. W.), "Under Czar and Soviet Russia," 8vo ; HURGRONJE (C. Snouck), "Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century: daily life, customs and learning," 8vo ; JACOBY (J.), "Le secret de Jeanne d'Arc, pucelle d'Orléans," 8vo ; KEITH (A. B.), "The constitutional law of the British Dominions," 8vo ; KEENE (Sir Benjamin), "The private correspondence, edited with introduction and notes by Sir Richard Lodge," 8vo ; KENNEDY (D. G.), "Field notes of the culture of Vaitupu Ellice Islands," 8vo ; KEYNES (J. M.), "Essays in biography," 8vo ; KEW (H. W.) and POWELL (H. E.), "Thomas Johnson: botanist and royalist," 8vo ; KLUKE (P.), "Heeresaufbau und Heerespolitik Englands vom Burenkrieg bis zum Weltkrieg," 8vo ; KOHN (L.), "The constitution of the Irish Free State," 8vo ; LAIDLAW (W. A.), "A history of Delos," 8vo ; LEBOR BRETNACH: The Irish version of the *Historia Britonum* ascribed to Nennius, edited from all the MSS. by A. G. Van Hamel," 8vo ; MARRIOTT (Sir J. A.), "Oxford: its place in national history," 8vo ; MARRIOTT (Sir J. A.), "The evolution of modern Europe, 1453-1932," 8vo ; MATHEW (D.), "The Celtic peoples and Renaissance Europe: a study of the Celtic and Spanish influences of Elizabethan history," 8vo ; MAYER (L. A.), "Saracenic heraldry: a survey," 8vo ; MEANS (P. A.), "Fall of the Inca Empire and the Spanish rule in Peru, 1530-1780," 8vo ; MIDDLETON (T.), "The history of Hyde and its neighbourhood," 8vo ; MILLIN (S. G.), "Cecil Rhodes," 8vo ; MOE (R.), "Le prix Nobel de la Paix et l'Institut Nobel Norvégien," 8vo ; MONIER (R.), "Le Livre Roisin: coutumier Lillois de la fin du 13e siècle, publié avec une introduction et un glossaire," 8vo ; MÜHL (M.), "Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen und althellenischen Gesetzgebung," 8vo ; NEWTON (A. P.), "The European nations in the West Indies, 1493-1688," 8vo ; OXENDEN LETTERS, 1607-1642, being the correspondence of Henry Oxenden of Barham and his circle, edited by D. Gardiner," 8vo ; POISSON (C.), "Les fournisseurs aux armées sous la révolution française: le directoire des achats, 1792-1793,"

8vo; POWER (E.) and POSTAN (M. M.); "Studies in English trade in the 15th century," 8vo; RAGATZ (L. J.), "A guide to the study of British Caribbean history, 1763-1834, including the abolition and emancipation movements," 8vo; RAMSEY (R. W.), "Henry Cromwell (the Protector's younger son)," 8vo; RICHARDS (G. R. B.), "Florentine merchants in the time of the Medici," 8vo; RIDDER (A. de), "Les projets d'union douanière Franco-Belge et les puissances Européennes, 1836-1843," 8vo; ROSE (J. Holland), "The Mediterranean in the ancient world," 8vo; RUNCIMAN (S.), "Byzantine civilisation," 8vo; SALTER (H. E.) "Registrum Cancellarii Oxoniensis, 1434-1469 (Oxford Hist. Soc.)," 8vo; SCHUSTER (Sir Arthur), "Biographical fragments," 8vo; SHARP (T.), "Town and countryside: some aspects of urban and rural development," 8vo; SPEAR (T. G. P.), "The Nabobs," 8vo; SPENDER (J. A.) and ASQUITH (C.), "Life of Herbert Henry Asquith, Lord Oxford and Asquith," 2 vols., 8vo; STEIN (Sir Aurel), "On ancient Central-Asian tracks," 8vo; STEPHENSON (Carl), "Borough and town: a study of urban origins in England," 8vo; STRAYER (J. R.), "The administration of Normandy under Saint Louis," 8vo; SUTHERLAND (L. H.), "A London merchant (William Braund), 1695-1774," 8vo; TAYLOR (Hugh), "History as a science," 8vo; TOD (M. N.), "A selection of Greek historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century"; TODD (G. Eyre), "History of Glasgow," 2 vols., 8vo; TURNER (E. R.), "The Cabinet Council of England in the 17th and 18th centuries, 1622-1784," 2 vols., 8vo; URE (P. N.), "The origin of tyranny," 8vo; WESTERMARCK (E.), "Early beliefs and their social inference," 8vo; WILKINSON (H. Spencer), "Twenty-five years, 1874-1909," 8vo; WILSON (Sir A. T.), "Persia," 8vo; YOUNG (W. R.), "Fighters of Derry: their deeds and descendants. Being a chronicle of the events in Ireland during the revolutionary period 1688-1691," 8vo.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE: ABERCROMBIE (L.), "Poetry: its music and meaning," 8vo; AGATE (James), "The English dramatic critics: an anthology, 1660-1932," 8vo; ALLISON (T.), "Pioneers of English learning," 8vo; "ANCIENT SONGS, chiefly on Moorish subjects, translated, from the Spanish (with the original), by Thomas Percy, with a preface by D.

Nicol Smith," 8vo ; ARENTS (P.), "Flemish writers translated 1830-1931: a bibliographical essay," 8vo ; "ASPECTS of Shakespeare, being British Academy lectures," 8vo ; AUSTEN (Jane), "Letters to her sister Cassandra and others, collected and edited by R. W. Chapman," 2 vols., 8vo ; BASIL (Giambattista), "The Pentamerone, translated from the Italian version by B. Croce and edited by N. N. Penzer," 2 vols., 8vo ; BENSE (J. F.), "A dictionary of the Low Dutch element in the English Vocabulary," 8vo ; BLOCH (O.), "Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française," 2 vols., 8vo ; BLANCHARD (M.), "La Campagne et ses habitants dans Honoré de Balzac," 8vo ; BLANCHARD (M.), "Témoignages et jugements sur Honoré de Balzac," 8vo ; BOND (H. P.), "English burlesque poetry, 1700-1750," 8vo ; BOYD (J.), "Goethe's knowledge of English literature," 8vo ; BRAY (R.), "Chronologie du Romantisme (1804-1830)," 8vo ; BRIDGES (Robert), "Three friends: memoirs of Digby Mackworth Dolben, Richard Watson Dixon, Henry Bradley," 8vo ; BROWNE (Edward G.), "A volume of studies presented to him on his 60th birthday, edited by T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson. (1922), 8vo ; BRYANT (A.), "Macaulay," 8vo ; BUSH (Douglas), "Mythology and the Renaissance, tradition in poetry," 8vo ; CRAWFORD (Ch.), "Concordance to Christopher Marlowe (Materials for the Study of Old Eng. Drama)," 8vo ; DARBISHIRE (Helen), "Early lives of Milton (Aubrey J. Phillips; Anthony à Wood, E. Phillips, J. Toland, J. Richardson)," 8vo ; DIECKHOFF (H. C.), "A pronouncing dictionary of Scottish Gaelic based on the Glengarry dialect according to oral information," 8vo ; DOLLINGER (A.), "Les études historiques de Chateaubriand," 8vo ; EHRHARD (J. E.), "Le roman français depuis Marcel Proust," 8vo ; ELLENHAUGE (M.), "English Restoration drama: its relation to past and contemporary French drama, from Jonson via Molière to Congreve," 8vo ; ELTON (Oliver), "The English Muse: a sketch," 8vo ; "ENGLISH LYRICS of the 13th century, edited by Carleton Brown," 8vo ; "THE EXETER BOOK of Old English Poetry with introductory chapters by R. W. Chambers, Max Forster and Robin Flower. Reproduced in facsimile," Folio ; FAGUET (E.), "Histoire de la poésie française de la renaissance au romantisme," 6 vols., 8vo ;

FAUSSET (H. L'A.), "The lost leader : a study in Wordsworth," 8vo ; FAWTIER (R.), "Le chanson de Roland : étude historique," 8vo ; FOSS (G. R.), "What the author meant," 8vo ; FRIEDRICH (W. P.), "Spiritualismus und Sensualismus in der Englischen Barocklyrik," 8vo ; GREENLAW (E.), "Studies in Spenser's historical allegory," 8vo ; HARRY (G.), "La vie et l'œuvre de M. Maeterlinck," 8vo ; HARVEY (Sir Paul), "The Oxford companion to English literature," 8vo ; HICKS (W. C. R.), "The school in English and German literature," 8vo ; HÖLSCHER (G.), "Syrische Verskunst," 8vo ; JACKSON (Holbrook), "The anatomy of bibliomania," 8vo ; JEWSBURY (Maria Jane), (an intimate friend of Dora Wordsworth, Mrs. Hemans, and Letitia Landon), "Occasional papers selected with a memoir by E. Gillett," 8vo ; KOZIOL (H.), "Grundzüge der Syntax der Mittelen-gli-schen Stabreimdichtungen," 8vo ; KRAPP (G. P.), "The Paris Psalter and the meters of Boethius," 8vo ; KRAPP (G. P.), "The Vercelli Book," 8vo ; KRAPP (G. P.), "The Junius Manuscript," 8vo ; LEAVIS (F. R.), "New bearings in English poetry : a study of the contemporary situation," 8vo ; "LETTERS of Mrs. Gaskell and Charles Eliot Norton (1855-1865), edited with introduction by J. Whitehill," 8vo ; "LETTERS of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough, edited by H. F. Lowry," 8vo ; LHANDÉ (P.), "Dictionnaire Basque-Français et Français-Basque," 8vo ; LOISEAU (J.), "Abraham Cowley's reputation in England," 8vo ; LOISEAU (J.), "Abraham Cowley sa vie et son œuvre," 8vo ; LOGGINS (Vernon), "The Negro author, his development in America, with bibliographies," 8vo ; MAGENDIE (M.), "Le roman français au 17e siècle : de l'Astrée au Grand Cyrus," 8vo ; MOORE (T. Sturge), "Poems : collected edition," 3 vols, 8vo ; MURRAY (Gilbert), "Aristophanes : a study," 8vo ; NOYES (A.), "The torch-bearers," 3 vols., 8vo ; OLIVER (J. W.), "The life of William Beckford," 8vo ; PASTON (G.), "At John Murray's : records of a literary circle, 1843-1892," 8vo ; PASCOE (M. E.), "Les drames religieux du milieu du 17e siècle, 1636-1650," 8vo ; PEPYS (Samuel), "Letters, and the second diary, edited with introduction by R. G. Howarth," 8vo ; PEPYS (Samuel), "Shorthand letters transcribed and edited by E. Chappell," 8vo ; PIERRE-QUINT (L.), "André Gide, sa vie son

œuvre," 8vo ; "A POETICAL RHAPSODY, 1602-1621, edited by H. E. Rollin," 2 vols., 8vo ; POMMIER (J.), "Le mystique de Beaudelaire," 8vo ; POWELL (J. U.), "New chapters in the history of Greek literature, 3: Some recent discoveries in Greek poetry and prose of the classical and later periods," 8vo ; POWELL (L. F.), "Johnson and Boswell revised," 8vo ; POWYS (LI.), "The life and times of Anthony à Wood (1632-1695)," 8vo ; READE (A. L.), "Johnsonian gleanings, part 6: the Doctor's life, 1735-1740," 4to ; RHEINFELDER (H.), "Kultursprache und Profansprache in den romanischen Ländern," 8vo ; RONJAT (J.), "Grammaire istorique des parlers Provencaux modernes," 2 vols., 8vo ; ROUSSEAU (A.), "Ames et visages du 20me siècle," 8vo ; SHELLEY (P. B.), "His life as comprised in Hogg's 'Life,' Trelawney's 'Recollections' and Peacock's 'Memoirs,' with an introduction by Humbert Wolfe," 8vo ; SCHICK (J.), "Corpus Hamleticum: Hamlet in Sage und Dichtung, Kunst und Musik," 8vo ; SCHOUMACKER (L.), "Erckmann-Chatrian: étude biographique et critique d'après des documents inédits," 8vo ; SCOTT CENTENARY, "Eighteen articles which have appeared from time to time from 1914 onwards in the 'Times Lit. Suppl.,'" 8vo ; SCOTT (Sir Walter), "Letters, edited by J. C. Grierson," 3 vols., 8vo ; "SIR WALTER SCOTT'S POST-BAG: more stories and sidelights from his unpublished letter-books, written and selected by W. Partington," 8vo ; SCOTT (Sir Walter), "New love-poems, edited by D. Cook," 8vo ; SMITH (L. Pearsall), "On reading Shakespeare," 8vo ; SIBBALD (Sir Robert), "His memoirs (1641-1722), edited with an introduction and refutation of the charge against him of forging Ben Jonson's conversations," 8vo ; SMITH (D. N.) and others, "Johnson and Boswell revised by themselves and others," 8vo ; SQUIRE (J. C.), "The younger poets of to-day," 8vo ; STEELE (Sir Richard), "The Christian hero, edited by R. Blanchard," 8vo ; TESNIÈRE (L.), "Oton Joupantchitch, poète Slovène: l'homme et l'œuvre," 8vo ; THRING (G. H.), "The marketing of literary property," 8vo ; TIBBLE (J. W. and Anne), "John Clare," 8vo ; TILLEY (Arthur), "Three French dramatists: Racine, Marivaux, Musset," 8vo ; TROILO (S.), "Andrea Giuliano politico e letterato Veneziano del quattrocento," 8vo ; VULLIAMY (C. E.),

"James Boswell," 8vo ; WALZEL (O.), "German romanticism . . . translated by A. E. Lussy," 8vo ; WEEKLEY (E.), "Words and names," 8vo ; WILLIAMS (C.), "A short life of Shakespeare, with sources abridged from Sir E. Chambers's 'Wm. Shakespeare,'" 8vo ; WITHER (George), "The history of the Pestilence (1625), edited with an introduction and notes by J. M. French," 8vo ; WOOLF (Virginia), "The common reader," 2 vols., 8vo.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION : "ACTA APOSTOLICA SEDIS : commentarium officiale, Ann. 1-25 (1909-33)," 25 vols, Folio ; ADAMS (C. C.), "Islam and Modernism in Egypt : a study of the modern reform movement by Muhammad 'Abduh," 8vo ; ARCHIVUM Historicum Societatis Jesu, Anno 2 (1933)," 8vo ; BARTLETT (F. C.), "Remembering : a study in experimental and social psychology," 8vo ; BECKER (C. L.), "The heavenly cult of the 18th century philosophers," 8vo ; BENSON (A.), "The Zohar in Moslem and Christian Spain," 8vo ; "THE BOOK OF GRADUAL SAYINGS, or more-numbered suttas, 2 : the Book of the Fours, translated by F. L. Woodward (Pali Text Soc.)," 8vo ; BOON (A.), "Pachomina latina : Règle et épitres de S. Pachome . . . texte latin de S. Jérôme," 8vo ; BORNKAMM (G.), "Mythos und Legende in der apokryphen Thomas Akten : Beiträge zur Geschichte der Gnosis und zur Vorgeschichte des Manichäismus," 8vo ; BOYLAN (P.), "The Psalms : a study of the Vulgate Psalter in the light of the Hebrew text," 2 vols., 8vo ; BRUNNER (E.), "Das Gebot und die Ordnungen : Entwurf einer protestantische - theologischen Ethik," 8vo ; "THE CATHOLIC CATECHISM drawn up by Peter Cardinal Gasparri (The authorized translation of the catechism recently issued by the Vatican Press)," 8vo ; CLARK (A. C.), "The Acts of the Apostles : a critical edition, with introduction and notes," 8vo ; CLARK (Ruth), "Strangers and sojourners at Port Royal," 8vo ; CLARKE (W. K. L.), "Liturgy and worship : a companion to the Prayer Book of the Anglican communion," 8vo ; CORNFORD (F. M.), "Before and after Socrates," 8vo ; COSTE (P.), "Le grand saint du grand siècle : Monsieur Vincent (de Paul)," 3 vols., 8vo ; DEWEY (John), "The philosophy of John Dewey, selected and edited by J. Ratner," 8vo ; DOBRÉE (B.), "William

Penn, quaker and pioneer, 8vo ; DODD (C. H.), "The Epistle of Paul to the Romans," 8vo ; DUPRÉEL (E.), "Traité de morale," 2 vols., 8vo ; DÜRR (Lorenz), "Das Erziehungswesen im Alten Testament und in antiken Orient," 8vo ; ELERT (W.), "Morphologie des Luthertums," 2 vols., 8vo ; FESTUGIÈRE (A. J.), "L'idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile," 8vo ; ERDMANN (G.), "Die Vorgeschieden des Lukas und Matthäus Evangeliums," 8vo ; FRANK (H.), "Die Klosterbischöfe des Frankenreiches," 8vo ; FUCHS (E.), "Christus und der Geist bei Paulus," 8vo ; GASTER (Moses), "Samaritan eschatology, vol. 1 : The belief of the Samaritans in Immortality, etc.," 8vo ; GASTER (Moses), "The tittled Bible : a dissertation on the history of the tittles, their origin, date and significance" (1929), Folio ; GERNET (L.) et BOULANGER (A.), "Le génie Grec dans la religion," 8vo ; GILSON (E.), "L'esprit de la philosophie médiévale," 8vo ; GOGUEL (M.), "La Foi à la Résurrection de Jésus dans le Christianisme primitif," 8vo ; GUIGNEBERT (Ch.), "Jésus (L'évolution de l'humanité)," 8vo ; HEIMBUCHER (M.), "Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche," 2 vols., 8vo ; HERNTRICH (V.), "Ezechiel Probleme," 8vo ; HICKS (G. Dawes), "Berkeley," 8vo ; JAMES (E. O.), "Origins of sacrifice : a study of comparative religion," 8vo ; JOHNSTONE (S. M.), "Samuel Marsden : a pioneer of civilisation in the Southern Seas," 8vo ; JOLIET (R.), "Saint Augustin et le néo-platonisme Chrétien," 8vo ; KLOSTERMANN (E.), "Nachlese zur Ueberlieferung der Matthäuserklärung des Origines," 8vo ; KNIGHT (S. K.), Bishop of Jarrow, "Fulfilling the ministry (Cambridge Pastoral Theology Lectures, 1925-26)," 8vo ; LAKE (Kirsopp) and NEW (S.), "Six collations of New Testament manuscripts," 8vo ; LEWIS (W.), "Jesus of Galilee," 8vo ; LIGHTFOOT, of Durham, "Memories and appreciations, collected and edited by G. R. Eden and F. C. Macdonald," 8vo ; LÖWENLICH (W. von), "Das Johannes-Verständnis im zweiten Jahrhundert," 8vo ; LUTHER (Martin), "Werke : kritische Gesamtausgabe," 39 vols., 4to ; MACKINNON (J.), "The Gospel in the early church," 8vo ; MANN (H. K.), "The lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages," 16 vols., 8vo ; MATTHEWS (W. G.), "An annotated list of the works of Richard Baxter," 8vo ; MEECHAM (H. G.), "The

oldest version of the Bible : Aristeas on its traditional origin, a study in early apologetic, with translation and appendices (32nd Hartley Lecture)," 8vo ; MILLIGAN (G.), "The New Testament and its transmission," 8vo ; MOLLAT (G.), "La question Romaine de Pie VI. à Pie XI.," 8vo ; MORGAN (J.), "The psychological teaching of St. Augustine," 8vo ; NILSSON (M. P.), "The Mycenæan origin of Greek mythology," 8vo ; ORCHARD (W. E.) "Foundations of faith, vol. 4 : Eschatological," 8vo ; ORCHARD (W. E.), "From faith to faith : an autobiography of religious development," 8vo ; OWST (G. R.), "Literature and pulpit in medieval England : a neglected chapter in the history of English letters and of the English people," 8vo ; "PENTATEUCH with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Prayers for Sabbath, and Rashi's commentary, translated into English and annotated by M. Rosenbaum, A. M. Silbermann and others," 8vo ; PRADINES (M.), "Philosophie de la sensation, 2 : La sensibilité élémentaire (I) les sens du besoin," 8vo ; RADHAKRISHNAN (S.), "An idealistic view of life (Hibbert Lectures, 1929)," 8vo ; RAUER (M.), "Form und Ueberlieferung der Lukas-Homilien des Origines," 8vo ; RIVIÈRE (J.), "Le dogme de la Redemption," 8vo ; ROBINSON (J. A.), "The Saxon Bishops of Wells : a historical study of the tenth century," 8vo ; ROBINSON (J. A.), "St. Oswald and the Church of Worcester," 8vo ; SABATIER (P.), "Etudes inédites sur S. François d'Assise, éditées par A. Goffin," 8vo ; ST. THOMAS AQUINAS, "On the power of God (Quæstiones disputatæ de potentia Dei), literally translated by the English Dominican Fathers," 8vo ; SCHWEITZER (Albert), "My life and thoughts : an autobiography translated by C. T. Champion," 8vo ; SCOTT (A. B.), "The rise and relations of the Church of Scotland : Early Brittonic period and S. Ninian's period," 8vo ; SEGOND (J.), "La vie de Spinoza," 8vo ; SERVETUS (Michael), "The two treatises on the Trinity, translated by E. M. Wilbur," 8vo ; SHORTT (C. De Lisle), "The influence of philosophy on the mind of Tertullian," 8vo ; SÖDERBLOM (N.), "The living God : basal forms of personal religion (Gifford Lectures, Edinburgh, 1931)," 8vo ; SODERINI (E.), "Leone xiii. : Il conclave, l'opera sociale," 8vo ; SUKENIK (E. L.), "The ancient synagogue of Beth Alpha : an account of excavations

conducted on behalf of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem," 4to ; TAYLOR (V.), "The formation of the Gospel tradition: eight lectures," 8vo ; TRAMONTANO (R.), "La lettera di Aristeo a Filocrate: introduzione, testo, versione e commento," 8vo ; WENSINCK (A. J.), "The Muslim creed: its genesis and historical development," 8vo ; WESTERMARCK (E.), "Early beliefs and their social influence," 8vo ; WUTZ (F.), "Die Transkription von der Septuaginta bis zu Hieronymus," 8vo ; XIBERTA (B. M.), "De scriptoribus scholasticis sæculi 14 ex ordine Carmelitarum," 8vo ; YAHUDA (A. S.), "The language of the Pentateuch in its relation to Egyptian, with a hieroglyphic index, vol. i.," 8vo ; "THE ZOHAR, translated by H. Spurling and others," 8vo.

SOCIOLOGY AND EDUCATION : ALISON (T.), "Pioneers of English learning," 8vo ; CARR SAUNDERS (A. M.) and WILSON (P. A.), "The professions," 8vo ; CHURCH (L. F.), "Oglethorpe: a study of philanthropy in England and Georgia," 8vo ; DODD (A. H.), "The industrial revolution in North Wales," 8vo ; DODWELL (E. G.), "One hundred years of Quarter Sessions," 8vo ; FAY (C. R.), "The corn laws and social England," 8vo ; FLOUD (Sir F. L.), "The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries," 8vo ; SILBER (K.), "Anna Pestalozzi-Schulthesz und der Frauenkreis um Pestalozzi," 8vo ; HICKS (W. R.), "The school in English and German fiction," 8vo ; IRSAY (J. d'), "Histoire des universités françaises et étrangères depuis l'origine jusqu'à nos jours," 2 vols., 8vo ; JOLOWICZ (H. F.), "Historical introduction to the study of Roman law," 8vo ; LEVASSEUR (G.), "Histoire des classes ouvrières en France depuis la conquête de Jules Cèsar jusqu'à la révolution" (1859), 2 vols., 8vo ; LEVASSEUR (G.), "Histoire des classes ouvrières en France depuis 1789 jusqu'à nos jours" (1867), 2 vols., 8vo ; MORRELL (W. P.), "The provincial system of government in New Zealand, 1852-76," 8vo ; MOYLAN (J. F.), "Scotland Yard and the Metropolitan Police," 8vo ; "NEW SURVEY of LONDON life and labour," 4 vols., 8vo ; RICHARDSON (J. H.), "Industrial relations in Great Britain," 8vo ; RICHARDSON (J. H.), "Industrial relations in the U.S.A.," 8vo ; RUSSELL (Bertrand), "Education and the social order," 8vo ; WARBURTON (C.), "The economic results of prohibition," 8vo ; WEBB (S. and B.), "Methods of social

study," 8vo ; " YEAR BOOK of the Universities of the Empire, 1933," 8vo ; YOUNG (R. F.), " Comenius in England : the visit of Amos Komensky . . . to London in 1641-42, its bearing on the origins of the Royal Society, on the development of the encyclopædia, etc.," 8vo.

The following is a list of donors to the library during the six months that have elapsed since the publication of our last issue, to each of whom we renew our thanks for their welcome gifts :—

GIFTS
TO THE
LIBRARY

G. Audley, Esq.	The Librarian.
W. R. Batty, Esq.	Dr. A. Mingana.
Sir M. Barlow.	Sir Christopher T. Needham.
The Reverend John H. Best.	Professor Dr. W. Neuss.
G. L. Brook, Esq.	The Reverend R. C. Oake.
P. C. Brown, Esq.	E. Ogden, Esq.
Miss M. Cayley.	J. D. Parsons, Esq.
Miss K. Chesney.	Julian Peacock, Esq.
F. Crooks, Esq.	The Reverend H. E. Perry.
I. Richmond Dixon, Esq.	R. T. Porte, Esq.
Lord Alfred Douglas.	D. T. Rice, Esq.
O. H. Ducksbury, Esq.	Henry Munro Rogers, Esq.
R. A. Freeman, Esq.	Miss A. M. Roos.
G. W. Gerwig, Esq.	Miss E. Roper.
Lord Gladstone.	G. T. Sadler, Esq.
Dr. G. B. Grundy.	Principal Dr. I. W. Slotki.
T. W. Hall, Esq.	The Reverend Harold Spencer.
Dr. Rendel Harris.	Professor Alwin Thaler.
Miss Hattersley.	Marcus M. Todd, Esq.
Mrs. Johns.	J. H. Wild, Esq.
The Right Reverend Bishop	J. F. Young, Esq.
E. A. Knox.	Dr. J. M. Zane.
P. Laithwaite, Esq.	

Aberystwyth : The National Library of Wales.

Aberystwyth : The University College of Wales.

Antiquarische Gesellschaft in Zurich.

The Bacon Society.

- Bangor : The University College of North Wales.
Barcelona : Biblioteca de Catalunya.
Birmingham : The University.
Buckfast Abbey : The Abbot and Community.
The Canadian Bank of Commerce.
Canberra : The Library of the Commonwealth of Australia.
Canberra : The University Association.
Cardiff : The National Museum of Wales.
Chicago : The Oriental Institute of the University.
China : The Library Association.
Dublin : The University College.
Durham : The University.
Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.
Edinburgh : The Signet Library.
Erfurter Genealogischer Abend.
The French Embassy, London.
Genoa : Il Podesta di Genoua.
Glasgow : The University.
Groningen : The University.
Helsingfors : The University.
The Henry E. Huntington Library.
The Hibbert Trustees.
India : The High Commissioner in London.
Irish Free State : The High Commissioner.
Japan : The Consul General.
The Jewish Historical Society of England.
Leeds : The University.
Leipzig : The University.
Lichfield : The Johnson Birthplace Committee.
London : The University.
London : The Royal College of Physicians.
Louisiana : The State University.
Louvain : The Catholic University.
Lund : Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet.
Madras : The Government Museum.
Manchester : The College of Technology.
Manchester : The Corporation.
Manchester : The Victoria University.

Manchester : The Statistical Society.
 The Massachusetts Historical Society.
 The Medieval Latin Dictionary Committee.
 Michigan : The University, Ann Arbor.
 Minnesota : The University.
 Montreal : The Cartier Centenary Committee.
 Montreal : The McGill University.
 New York : The University of New York.
 New York : The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 New Zealand : The High Commissioner.
 Nottingham : The University.
 Ontario : The Department of Public Records.
 Oslo : The University.
 Oxford : Jesus College.
 Rome : The American Academy.
 St. Andrews : The University.
 Sandwich : The Town Council.
 Shanghai : The Mercury Press.
 Sheffield : The University.
 Stockholm : The Board of the Hallwyl Museum.
 Stockholm : The Royal Library.
 Swansea : The University College.
 Szeged : The Royal Hungarian University.
 The Theosophical Society in England.
 Toronto : The University.
 Utrecht : The University.
 Victoria, Australia : The Public Library.
 Washington : The Library of Congress.
 Washington : The Office of the Surgeon-General.
 Washington : The Smithsonian Institution.
 The Yorkshire Philosophical Society.

The Gifts include :—

Transcripts of Stockport Parish Registers, 1620-1880.
 by W. I. Wild. 11 vols., 4to.

Transcripts of the Registers of Mount Tabor Chapel,
 Stockport, 1793-1832, by W. I. Wild. 3 vols., 4to.

—Presented by J. H. Wild, Esq.

"Saxon Oxfordshire: charters and ancient highways, edited by G. B. Grundy," 1932, 8vo.

—*Presented by the Editor.*

"Meditations and Praiers gathered out of the Sacred letters and vertuous writers, disposed in fourme of the Alphabet of the Queene (Elizabeth) her . . . name. Whereunto are added comfortable consolations . . . to afflicted mindes . . . [By Sir John Conway.]" London, 1571, 8vo.

—*Presented by Mrs. Johns in memory of her late husband, Canon C. H. W. Johns, Master of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, one of the leading Assyriologists of his day, who rendered great service to the library.*

"Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale de Saint Petersburg . . . Description par Antonio Staerk (Reproductions autotypiques)." Saint Petersburg, 1910. 2 vols, 4to.

—*Presented by the Abbot and Community of Buckfast Abbey.*

"Historical Records of Australia . . . Published by the Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament. [Edited by F. Watson.]" [Sydney], 1914-1925. 33 vols, 8vo.

Governor's despatches to and from England . . . 1788-1848.
26 vols.

Despatches and papers relating to the settlement of the States . . .
1803-1830. 6 vols.

Legal papers . . . 1787-1827.

"The beginnings of government in Australia. By authority. [A series of lithographic facsimiles of documents, edited by F. Watson.]" Sydney, 1913. Folio.

—*Presented by the Library Committee of the Parliament of the Commonwealth, Canberra.*

"Documents and proofs of the Genoese origin of Christopher Columbus," 1932, Folio.

—*Presented by Il Podesta di Genova.*

“Hallwylska Samlingen. Beskrifvande förteckning.
[Compiled under the direction of Wilhelmina von
Hallwyl.]” Stockholm, 1926-1932. 27 vols, 4to. (In
progress.) (100 copies printed.)

—*Presented by the Countess Wilhelmina von Hallwyl, and the
Board of the Hallwyl Museum, Stockholm.*

VALUE.¹

BY S. ALEXANDER, O.M., LITT.D., F.B.A.,

HONORARY PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF
MANCHESTER.

THE idea of value has become the subject of so much loose usage and loose thinking, which does almost more harm than false thinking, that the very name has an ill odour in philosophy. At a recent conference of philosophers at Reading a remark made incidentally that the word was detestable was received with applause. The reason is that the name is used to suggest something admirably mysterious, to be received with reverent acceptance, and no questions asked of its authority. The highest values, the old triad of truth and goodness and beauty, stand for something precious in our lives, and the word value has acquired an aroma rare and exquisite. But in science and knowledge we dare not allow our practical prepossessions to colour the ethical neutrality (I borrow a phrase of Bertrand Russell's) we have to observe in theoretical inquiry. We need to ask what value is without prepossession.

There is a general feeling in the air that value is an essential feature in the constitution of the universe. But till we know what value is, and what the word means, we may be fancying that the highest values themselves may be the most important features of the universe. Whereas it may turn out merely that there is something in the universe which at a higher stage is familiar to us under the form of the highest values, but is in itself something very simple and divested of emotional trappings. Mr. Laird² has offered to find this simple and pervasive feature in what he calls 'natural election,' the fact that everything in

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 8th of March, 1933.

² In *The Idea of Value*. Cambridge, 1929.

the universe has something else which matters to it or to which it matters, like the magnet and the iron filings. Before him Mr. Perry of Harvard¹ had extended the meaning of value to cover any kind of interest. Whatever is interesting to a conscious being is a value or valuable for that being. That would be making value something purely psychological, and the highest values would be (though we have yet to hear Mr. Perry on the subject in a new volume) particular cases of such interest. Mr. Laird goes further and extends the meaning beyond conscious beings to all beings, and I see no reason why we should stop at conscious beings. Now if Mr. Laird is right, and I think he is, value would be a very important feature in the universe, and would be another way of expressing the fact that everything directly or indirectly, closely or remotely, is connected with the whole of things, that as Mr. Whitehead puts it, everything in the world has all the rest of the world for its field.² But at least we know here just how much and how little value means, and we are not tempted to loose talk about beauty and goodness. For in a simple and comprehensive notion like this we have got very far away from our own highest values. They may be instances of natural election or of interest. But there is nothing exciting or emotional about natural election, and that is its great merit. It is an attempt to show what value ultimately means. And I am persuaded that we must give up talking at large about value till we have found out what makes a thing valuable.

I propose to confine myself to the familiar highest values and to ask what it is in them which makes their value. Now there are two things which strike us at once about these values of beauty and goodness and truth. The first is that they are relative to us humans and satisfy us in certain respects ; and the second is that when we value anything as true or good or beautiful the objects we value under these terms are regarded for their own sakes. When we answer the question how such objects

¹ In *General Theory of Value*. London, 1926.

² Compare Locke's saying : " Things, however absolute and entire they seem in themselves, are but retainers to other parts of nature for that which they are most taken notice of by us." (Essay, Bk. IV, ch. vi, sect. 11).

come to be regarded for their own sakes, we shall be answering also the question in what respects they satisfy or are satisfactory to us. I will deal with the first question, I mean how objects come to be regarded for their own sakes, first, because the need of answering it is often overlooked. It is so easy to say that a good act or a good character is regarded for its own sake, or contemplatively; or that a beautiful face or statue or picture is regarded for its own sake, that this contemplation of objects for their own sakes seems hardly to require accounting for. Yet when we have accounted for it we have in fact solved the question how such objects have value.

Take morals first. It is a commonplace of the unsophisticated mind that we tell the truth and pay our debts not for the sake of the consequences or to avoid the pains and penalties of the law or public opinion, but because the two objects in view are respectively telling the truth and paying debts. Then sophistication comes in with ethical theory. One kind of theory says we approve these actions because they bring with them happiness, and some even go so far as to hold that we desire not the paying of debts but the happiness that comes of it. Now it may very well be that good actions do bring happiness and yet it need not be true that they are approved for that reason. This theory hardly concerns us, for it holds that it is only by force of habit that we desire good ends for their own sake. Moreover all the time there may be a different answer: that we are temperate and pay our debts not because it pays us better (though on the whole it does pay us better), but because we prefer temperance and honesty.

There is a different form of sophistication possible. Because when we do good actions we do them for their own sakes, this may be taken to mean that we do right because it is right, and that there is a right or a good which is a fundamental character of goodness, quite distinct from all consideration of consequences or motives. Kant followed this line when he tried to show that the goodness of good action lay in its categorical character, its universality, and set up a barren criterion of goodness. Our latter-day moralists follow a different line, and declare that right action is something which only intuition of its rightness can settle.

Here again possibly there is an alternative which has been overlooked. Utilitarian theories hardly account at all for why actions are desired for their own sakes. These other theories offer a theory but it goes beyond the necessities of the situation. For actions may be desired for their own sakes not because of some mysterious property of rightness they possess, which we learn by intuition or by rationality, but because they satisfy some desire different from the desire which leads to the action. I desire drink, but I desire temperance in drinking because I carry my fellows with me when I stop, and do not when I exceed. Or I respect your right to life because I and other people dislike murder, as the Bible illustrates when Cain after killing Abel is met by the wrath of God. Now this suggests that I come to regard actions for their own sake, not because of some mysterious standard, but because of another passion which makes me sympathetic with the wishes of other persons in society.

Consequently we desire ends for their own sakes, as ordinary moral experience tells us we do, because there is a controlling passion which does not allow us to satisfy any particular passion, thirst or jealousy or what not, as it arises, but subjects that particular passion to the control of another passion, that of sociality or regard for the wishes of others. The social feeling, or the tribal self, confronts and limits the mere particular self. In this way any object when subjected to this control is lifted out of the mere class of objects which satisfy my individual or material passions, and becomes an object desired for its own sake. As I said before, by discovering how objects come to be desired for their own sake, we at the same time learn that such objects satisfy the social self or the social impulse. Goodness thus derives its value from its satisfying the social impulse in a man. The two questions have been answered together. We may add that the value of the good act or character is thus the relation between the act in question and the impulse it satisfies and that value is experienced by us as the pleasure of having our social passion gratified.

Consider, next, truth which may be described as acquaintance with the world of things, in so far as that acquaintance is pursued for its own sake. Our acquaintance with things is in the first

instance practical : we know things in their uses for us. Indeed it might be maintained, were this the proper place to do so, that knowledge comes to us essentially through practice. We do not first know things and then act ; we know things through acting upon them. The things which surround us excite us physically to response, or as we commonly say, to reaction. In that reaction upon them we become aware of them or know them. Light provokes us to turn our eyes to it and we then see it as light. All our knowledge is thus a revelation to us of things which first provoke us to respond to them. Differences in things provoke different responses, and difference in the response brings us face to face with the things as we know them. This relation begins with the data of sense, it is completed through the other responses of our so-called cognitive processes, and in the end the world as we know it is a vast system revealed to us through all the ways of sense, imagination, thought. But things which begin by being instruments of practice become emancipated from their practical uses and are observed and thought about for their own sakes. The connection with practice is never severed ; just as right and goodness are never severed from their roots in passion and desire. But as in morals a new passion enters to emancipate us from the pressure of personal passions, so in knowing we leave the calls of utility and study things for themselves and create science. Science begins with practical uses, leaves them and enters the pure empyrean of theory and returns to practical uses again.

Now what makes acquaintance with things into truth and gives it the value of truth ? It is that we seek to systematise our acquaintance with things, which gives us varying and often contradictory information about them. The data of the senses conflict with one another and with the other data supplied through memory. For man is a creature of ideas, and while the animal is content with the data of the moment, or is so for the most part, man brings, through his gift of imagination and memory and reflection, all the scattered fragments of his experience together and weaves them into an integral whole, makes theories and systems, invents hypotheses to unite his separate data, and always under guidance from the world he is subject to,

may construct systems which at first seem remote entirely from the sensible world, but in the end are verified by that sensible world, under pain of modification or rejection.

It is this passion for systematic inquiry which, with all the helps of his cognitive powers, turns his acquaintance with things from practical knowledge into truth acquired for its own sake. The impulse which leads him on is curiosity, not in the mere animal form which makes a dog sniff about in the interests of food or sex, but in the form of humanised and systematic curiosity. It is animal curiosity sublimated as it were through the presence of ideas. Such curiosity is of its own nature systematic.

As before with goodness so with truth. Truth is truth because it satisfies curiosity in this refined and human form, and its value lies in the satisfaction it brings to us thus. Truth has no doubt many other characters which there is not space to describe, all flowing from this original character. But truth is a value or has value because it satisfies this human curiosity, always under guidance or control from things themselves. The passion of enlightened curiosity which we call inquiry makes knowledge desired for its own sake and at the same time makes that knowledge a value as the satisfaction of a human need.

When we come to beauty, the third of these highest values, the situation is still plainer, and I am myself more interested in beauty just because the study of it affords a readier approach to the essential nature of value. Here too the beautiful object is not merely seen or heard but contemplated for its own sake. The beautiful object, whether in nature or art, is a material thing; in art, where the fact is sometimes overlooked, it consists of tones or pigments or bronze or marble or, as in literature, of words. Now these objects, whether in nature or in art, convey practical pleasures or, as they may usefully be called, material pleasures. Partly the actual material pleasures, as with tones or the texture of marble; partly the subject (when, as in representative art, there is a subject distinct from the materials themselves) pleasures. These pleasures enter into the total effect of beauty but they are not themselves the pleasure of beauty and may even divert the mind from beauty itself. An erotic love-song or an unskilful or inartistic painting of the nude may excite

and please material passions, and when such pleasure is predominant the experience is not æsthetic. Even in a portrait the mere pleasure of recognition which accompanies a successful likeness to the subject is subsidiary to the æsthetic success which is different from mere likeness. In a beautiful love-song, say, 'My love is like a red, red rose'; or the charming conceit of Carew quoted by Edward Fitzgerald in one of the first in the collection of his letters, 'Ask me no more where Jove bestows, When June is past, the fading rose, etc.': the material passion is indeed excited or suggested but in such subordination to the unity of the whole poem, that it does not excite practically. The green field may give pleasure to a cow, but it is not appreciated by her, we may presume, as beautiful just because though seen it is not contemplated for itself.

How do sights and sounds as in a work of art or as in nature seen with an æsthetic eye come, then, to be thus contemplated? I have tried to give the answer in a paper of some years ago by pointing to the fact that a beautiful object is never seen as it actually is but the mind introduces into the object its own interpretations and imputes to the object characters which it does not really possess. I have to repeat myself. The marble which is dead looks alive or full of character; the words of a poem not only have their meanings in the sense that they stand for objects, but the meaning and the word are blended, the words as I have put it are charged with meaning. Even such simple beauty as that of a pure colour or a pure tone pleases æsthetically or is beautiful because the mind is aware of its purity, its freedom from admixture of other tones or colours; such purity has its basis in the material fact, but needs the presence of the mind to apprehend through contrast or comparison. There is the added interpretation by the mind itself. So much truth at least there is in the famous notion of 'empathy,' which has played so large a part in recent æsthetical theory. I need not stay to ask how we thus alter the actual material things so as to give them a meaning they do not themselves possess. The sculptor portrays a Hermes and he shapes the marble so that it means for the appreciative onlooker godhead and playfulness. The marble has this meaning in the same way as we see the ice cold.

The marble takes a significant shape because the artist's choice of line and plane and volume embodies the ideas or images or thoughts the artist himself brings to the work.

Thus the work of art is according to the old phrase which C. E. Montague quotes *homo additus naturæ*.¹ Now it is this addition to the physical material of a 'foreign' meaning from the side of the creative or appreciative mind which lifts the object out of its practical character and allows it to be contemplated for its own sake. Observe that this applies not only to art but to nature as well. For nature when it is seen beautiful and not merely pleasing to the sense is altered by our interference: we select those elements in the natural object which suit our mood. Nature when she is seen beautifully is subjected to our interference, according to the well-known lines of Coleridge, 'O Lady we receive but what we give and in our life alone does nature live'; which, however, does not allow for Nature's existence apart from our finding her beautiful. The addition from our mind of interfering elements which we attribute to the material, not only brings those elements themselves before our minds but it divests the actual material elements present of their purely material character. By being interfered with they are diverted from their normal practical function and become the subject of contemplation. I have quoted elsewhere Shakespeare's line, 'do paint the meadows with delight.' Delight and painting are introduced plainly by the poet, but the meadows themselves are transfigured in the process.

It is not always so easy to see that this statement holds in a non-representative art like music or in architecture, which comes nearest to music. Nor am I able to deal with the difficulties as they deserve. I must refer you here, if you care to pursue the theme, to what I am about to say in a more systematic treatment of the whole subject of this lecture which I hope may shortly appear.² Everywhere it will be found I think that where there is beauty, even in the most formal art, significance belongs to the work through the interference of the artist

¹ In a letter in his memoir by O. Elton. London, 1929, p. 272.

² Under the title of *Beauty and other forms of Value*. (Messrs. Macmillan.)

or the spectator. And the study of non-representative art forces upon us the conviction that the beauty of the beautiful does not belong as such to the material effects of the beautiful but to its formal character which it owes to the active constructive operation of the mind, which, out of elements some of them given in the material, some of them supplied by the mind and expressed in the material, gives unity and harmony to the whole according to the old Greek account of beauty as unity in variety.

In discovering how the beautiful object is contemplated for itself, we have discovered what beauty is and what makes it a value. Beauty is that which satisfies the impulse of constructiveness, that is, constructiveness of materials, not the mere construction which the man of science uses in thinking—when that constructiveness has become human and contemplative. For constructiveness is found also among certain animals, but their constructions, like the hive of the bee, or the beaver's dam, or the nightingale's song, are part of practical arrangements, storage of food, or care for the young, or courtship. Human constructiveness is pursued for itself. Beauty or the beautiful is what satisfies this impulse, and beauty is a value because of the particular pleasure it brings to this impulse. They are therefore right who say there is an æsthetic sentiment, and I add that it is the human representative of animal constructiveness.

The value of beauty is thus eminently a relation, as between the beautiful object and the mind which creates, or appreciates; for appreciation is but creation at the bidding of the creator, it is going over again the work of creation when that work has been already performed. How essentially beauty is relative is seen from the constitution of the beautiful object itself, part given, part added by the mind; so that the relation of beauty to the mind is implied in the very nature of beauty.

The situation then is a complex one. An object is created or discovered which satisfies the impulse of constructiveness, and is a value because it so satisfies. Beauty is referred to the object as belonging to it, but it is not a quality of the object like yellow or sweet, but is the relation which the object has to the constructive person. He experiences the pleasure of beauty in the satisfaction of the constructive or, let us say now, of the

æsthetic sentiment. The pleasure belongs to the person who feels it, the beauty is referred as a quality to the object which so pleases. Strictly it is not a quality at all, but a value, that is, a relation of the object to the person of satisfying the æsthetic sentiment.

One feature has been, however, omitted in each of these three cases, namely, the objectivity of value. None of these values is such for the individual alone but for many individuals. Virtue satisfies the social sentiment, truth the sentiment of disinterested curiosity; beauty satisfies the sentiment of constructiveness when that sentiment is emancipated from practice and thereby becomes impersonal. Thus all three values have their value in relation not to a particular individual but in relation to what may be called a standard individual, in morals the wise or good man, in truth the knowing man, in art or beauty the æsthetic judge. The mere disinterestedness of these values is enough to indicate their being satisfactions, not of one but of many and in general of a society of people. It is this impersonal character which gives a meaning to the 'absoluteness' of the highest values. Relative to individuals at any one time, they are at that time not relative to a particular but to a standard individual. And if you ask me how the standard is set up or discovered, I answer by trial, by finding out who are in agreement with it. The good and the knowing and the tasteful discover themselves and they exclude from those titles those who do not come up to the standard. The judges are discovered at the same time as the rule by which they judge. From one point of view the standard is set up by a piece of tyranny, but the tyranny is established in the effort to secure goodness and truth and beauty.

Now if, bearing in mind the standard or objective character of the highest values, we go down the scale and consider what corresponds to these values among the animals (including man as an animal) and lower down amongst plants, we see that what is valuable to them is what satisfies generic wants. Food is valuable to the animal because it maintains the life of the species. Merely as pleasant to him, it has not value but is pleasant; in so far as it is nutritious it secures life in the animal's kind. Thus even lower than beauty and goodness and truth,

the feature of objectivity of value is retained. Only what is established amongst ourselves by trial or experiment is already fixed in the animal in the needs of his species.

Descending still lower than life, we find that there is value amongst material things in so far as one thing can satisfy another, as the chemists used to say long ago about the satisfaction of one atom by another within the molecule. Here, too, value remains objective. Only the distinction between the individual and the species has not yet emerged in the scale of existence, and all interest of one thing in another is objective: there is no room for that difference of individuals from one another which makes one man's interests differ from those of another, and may if he cannot submit himself to the standardisation of value, make him the subject of purely personal values, called so merely because they satisfy him as true value satisfies the standard man. Such so called values are miscalled value, omitting as they do the reference to the generic or standard which as we have seen lies at the basis of real value. In other words, it is only when the notion of value, that is standard satisfaction, is familiar, that it becomes possible for the individual to claim that his satisfactions are 'values' for himself. Thus standard or real value is not as it were a compromise between a multitude of personal values, but rather personal likings arrogate to themselves the title of value to which they have no claim. Personal value is a defect from real value, and not value a growth from personal values.

INSTRUMENTS AND DISCIPLINE OF LEARNING.¹

BY THE EARL OF CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES, F.R.S.

CHANCELLOR OF THE VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

WHEN scarcely 14 years old, Thomas Carlyle walked from his home to the University of Edinburgh—a distance of 100 miles : that was the practice of students in those days, and forty years earlier Dr. Johnson had been attracted by their fortitude. Speaking of the son of a farmer from the Island of Coll who went on foot to Aberdeen to study, “. . . there is something noble (he said) in a young man’s walking 200 miles and back again every year for the sake of learning.” And indeed the effort was not unusual. Often enough the frugal youth was content to live on oatmeal salt butter and potatoes, brought from home by the carrier, who would take back his washing and his clothes to be mended. When living at Kirkcaldy in 1817, Carlyle’s mother sends him “a small piece of ham, and a minting of butter.” “Good night, Tom [she says in one of her letters], for it is a stormy night, and I must away to the byre to milk.” Such throughout the ages has been one aspect of learning and its pursuit : such has been the effort, the degree of sacrifice imposed upon the affections of a parent, the measure of discipline exacted from the aspirant. Hence the reputation of learning and the acknowledgment of its high status. Hence the loyalties it has evoked, the loyalty for instance of Henry Roscoe, who could have enhanced his fame by leaving our little Owens College in the seventies, but who preferred to stay with us until our position was securely established.

In our own day there has been a revolution in the instruments of learning, in its circumstance and equipment. Progress in organisation has been so rapid that the apparatus threatens to

¹ An address delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 22nd March, 1933.

run away with us, and even from us ; and as our intellectual progress is stimulated by mechanical processes or the multiplication of opportunity, qualitative results may succumb to quantitative ambition. In the growing haste and stress of mechanised life, learning is by no means exempt from danger—it certainly cannot ignore influences which are affecting the daily life of every one of us. The warning of Seneca still holds good.

In our country the physical conditions of learning have always been severe. “Cuthbert, Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow in the second half of the eighth century, excuses himself to a correspondent for not having sent him all the works of Bede which he had asked, on the ground that the intense cold of the previous winter had paralysed the hands of his scribes ; Ordericus Vitalis, who wrote in the first half of the twelfth century, closes the fourth book of his Ecclesiastical History with a lament that he must lay aside his work for the winter ; and a monk of Ramsey Abbey in Huntingdonshire has recorded his discomforts in a Latin couplet which seems to imply that in a place so inconvenient as a cloister all seasons were equally destructive of serious work.”

Willis Clark also makes it clear that the Scriptorium would have been intolerable to the hardest and most resolute student of our day. The Carrell, for instance, in Gloucester Cloisters, which we admire as a kind of cosy pew or writing box, was in point of fact bitterly cold, draughty, damp, ill-lighted and confined—a veritable torture chamber of scholarship, though the Gloucester scribes probably thought themselves fortunate in comparison with others. But English scholars, let us say on 1250—that great moment in the history of our architecture and calligraphy, the period when our pictorial art excelled that of Tuscany or Venice or Spain, when the *Opus Anglicanum* was eagerly competed for by the connoisseurs of Europe,—in those days the men who shivered in the Scriptorium were notable scholars. Subject to limitations of the times, the corpus of their knowledge was great and their discipline keen. To them discipline was education, that was what the word meant—instruction or control : theirs was also a discipline of monastic garb, of tonsure, of conventual practice : and it was almost possible for half-a-dozen diligent men to grasp all history, even

all theology of the day. The digests and compendia, the encyclopædia, and the pandects—were collections which summarised the available mathematics and law, geography and medicine. The Psalter with its floriated borders would record the lighter and more domestic life of the period, the Bestiary its tragic and more sinister beliefs. Herein lay much of the accumulated body of mediæval learning, restricted it is true, but desperately real and living to the student of the day, and representing the scholarship of the century which produced Salisbury Cathedral, St. Theodore of Chartres, William de Brailes and the *Dolce Stil Nuovo*.

Books were costly, libraries small. The practice of chaining the treasures prevailed in England, and here in Lancashire we can still count four such collections. In 1694 James Leaver's bequest enriched Bolton with a chained library, and as late as 1713 a donor presented chains to a Somersetshire parish. Half a century later the British Museum Reading Room had come into being. It was furnished with tables and twenty chairs. A day's notice had to be given to secure any particular book, and there were severe restrictions on copying manuscripts. In 1765 the Trustees decided that the floor should be covered with rush matting, moreover that the window frames, which were loose, should be repaired. In 1838 there were nearly 300 readers, whose wants were served by two attendants. In that year also sand was replaced by blotting paper. Note how the standard of comfort is insidiously improved.

The technical apparatus has made more progress in our own lifetime than during the whole previous history of libraries. Consider, for instance, the accession lists at Bloomsbury, amounting in 1931 to 35,000 printed books, 109,000 serials and parts of volumes, 1300 maps and atlases, 9200 portions of music, 217,000 single numbers of newspapers, 3500 MSS., and 2000 Oriental items. A mile of new shelving is required for this yearly harvest, while in the U.S.A. the annual publication list has been as high as 135,000. Or else test increasing activities by the measure of local demand. The Manchester public libraries in 1932 issued 4,600,000 volumes, which is an increase of 250,000 over the previous twelve months. Liverpool issued 6,000,000, which is an increase of nearly a million. Let me contrast quantitative

results in northern cities with qualitative results in a southern county, namely, the Kent County library, which now serves 74 per cent. of its area. Of the total number of books issued the chief classes were as follows : Senior Fiction, 1,150,000 ; Junior Fiction, 464,000 ; Biography, 53,000 ; Travel, 50,000 ; Literature, 39,000 ; Useful Arts, 24,000 ; and finally Science, 23,000. While I rejoice that there should be healthy competition between science and the useful arts, even for the bottom place, the figures suggest a certain desultoriness in the Garden of England, which is said to be passing through a period of transition, as Adam observed to Eve when abandoning an equally classic garden in Mesopotamia. The Kent statistics indicate but little direction or discipline, and that readers are not working to normal time-tables of study. The switch from education to entertainment is wellnigh complete, and the orderliness which should provide the basis of all study is absent. Frederick Harrison warned us nearly fifty years ago that what he then considered the plethora of printed matter was making the efficient use of printed books more difficult than ever, and that strong resolution was needful to acquire the habit of reading wisely.

They say our public libraries now possess 25,000,000 books, and the problem has not been simplified since Frederick Harrison wrote. The machine of learning grows in extent and complexity. The profession of teaching is among the most highly organised in Britain, while librarianship has reached a degree of professionalism which would have terrified Gabriel Naudé or Thomas James. Meanwhile, physical ease and amenities are more closely studied than ever. In old days the Leiden student had to stand, and even if he could sit, his knees would often bump against the lower bookshelves. Even in the affluent circumstances of Charles Cinq, windows were of trellised wire in the absence of glass. The student of to-day seems but little to realise how great has been the advance in the standard of comfort and convenience, nor what his own consternation would be were he deprived of photograph, rotograph, photostat, facsimile or typewriter, not to mention the host of attendants and the army of dictionaries. I read with astonishment my grandfather's notebooks of the forties and fifties, containing elaborate descriptions

of some Italian picture, in which the position, gesture, attitude and sentiment of each person in some big group are minutely set out. Nowadays a shilling photograph would be more satisfying, yet it is probable that the discipline of analysis left more lasting emphasis on the mind.

Then again, our mechanics of book distribution have been speeded up, though less than in the United States, where I have seen an overhead trolley system noisily dump half-a-dozen volumes on to the desk of a somnolent reader. Labour-saving apparatus is not easily applied to the King's Library or to the Spencer Rylands: but it eliminates one branch of the useless toil which it is the province of librarianship to remove. On the other hand, it is too readily assumed that the toil of literary as opposed to physical effort is in itself wasteful. Fatigue is the subject of growing study,—industrial fatigue, which has become a valued and well-recognised branch of commercial psychology, literary fatigue, which librarian and bibliographer strive to mitigate, and likewise educational fatigue. The whole principle of the seminar library is that specialised books should be aggregated to reduce the effort of search. The catalogue, the bibliography, the system of classification, the subject index, not to mention the multiplication of dictionary and concordance, all are designed to save us trouble. We need not strain our memories if we have learned how to search the dictionary, and how to choose the right text-book, for the open shelves are at our disposal,—25,000 volumes at Bloomsbury, and as many at Manchester, books of reference so-called, but often enough monographs or vice versa. "If we find our text-book difficult, the best way is to try another"—this little homily sounds a truism, though it assumes all knowledge is at our command if only we find the correct dictionary, or if only we pursue the shortest of the available short cuts. We have all watched how some keen young scholar, faced by two or three shelves loaded with relevant material, will hasten from one volume to another, feverishly turning the pages lest a single source be left untapped. Wealth of material too often engenders restlessness rather than confidence.

Meanwhile the process of effort is deemed to be not merely worthless, but positively wasteful, just as though the pleasure of

the chase lay in the quarry rather than the quest, just as in travel we are apt to think about departure for the next destination before we have savoured the happiness of our resting-place. No—let us not minimise the discipline of this useless toil, which for all we know may direct our vision towards unexpected perspectives, which may even provide reward and compensation in failure. This speed of scholarship (called skimming before the process was fashionable) becomes an objective in itself, witness the following apothegm: "All know how access to shelves multiplies the output, of a user, on many lines"; output plus speed, plus variety, it sounds like a brisk music hall performance; yet all this underrates the human frailties of scholarship and the pleasing margin of error. How valuable these things can be, how serviceable are our indiscretions, and often how relevant is a dose of irrelevance. At times it is good to overlap, to be unscientific, to browse about, to lanternise, to forget the multiplication of output (on many lines), above all to proclaim that that which is unprofitable need not be uninteresting. In fact, an infiltration of inefficiency is quite appropriate. Joubert openly advocated it—said that "a little ignorance helps to keep us modest and to give us geniality." "Conservons un peu d'ignorance, pour conserver un peu de modestie et de déférence à autrui : sans ignorance point d'amabilité. Quelque ignorance doit entrer nécessairement dans le système d'une excellente éducation."

One must admit that Roger Bacon was over-indulgent towards his own margin of error, but it stimulated the father of speculative thought in England even if it caused umbrage among the orthodox. So Bacon long languished in confinement, though the Doctor Admirabilis was not embittered by the semblances of heresy, and retained modesty and deference throughout his trials. The corpus of learning grew in his hands and has expanded ever since. When Dugdale began to write his history of old St. Paul's, it was thought noteworthy that his documents amounted to the burden of no less than ten porters. Our voracious readers would make light of such a load. Even more astonishing than the bulk of available material is the literature describing it—a new development. In the middle of last century, the British Museum Catalogue, then in manuscript, filled over 1800 congested volumes :

but the cascade of subsequent publication becomes overwhelming. The output of bibliography is gigantic. It is said that 400 periodicals devote themselves to the bibliography of science, dealing among other things with many thousands of periodical scientific publications. The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, besides issuing a scheme for the international co-ordination of libraries, has drawn up an international code of abbreviations . . . for what ?—for the titles of periodicals ! The bibliography of bibliographies is important, for most literary and historical research is based upon research among bibliographies. Reference hunting in this stupendous repertory of knowledge enables us to reassemble and remarshal facts already published elsewhere. This is useful, even essential, but it is not research in the true sense of the word, such for instance as the disclosure of original manuscript sources, or still more that most far-reaching contribution of our day to historical science, namely, excavation by the archæologist. It is on the Nile, the Indus and the Euphrates, and at Richborough, Honduras, Serindia and Crete that British antiquaries are leading the world in constructive historical research.

Amid this mass of publication it must be difficult for an author, unless helped by genius or good fortune, to devise a new title for his book, still more to acquire a new subject. In point of fact, there must be plagiarism and multiplication, and not in literary output alone. Those who occupy themselves with breeding improved potatoes and cereals christen the new plants, but apparently give new names to what are already in existence : so the Royal Agricultural Society has set up Potato and Cereal Synonym Committees to make rectifications. That this is necessary is proved by the fact that potato synonyms increased from 6·3 per cent. in 1931 to no less than 14·3 per cent. in 1932 ! Again, the new White Queen wheat is pronounced to be the old White Marvel : new Highlander is really the old Abundance, a pleasing discovery ; and best coincidence of all, Sovereign wheat is synonym for King wheat—great breadstuffs all of them, even if synonymous. “ I think Napoleon was a greater soldier than Bonaparte,” said an elderly lady to her friend. “ No,” replied the latter, who happened to be a lady of scholarly tastes, “ that

cannot be, for Napoleon and Bonaparte are synonymous." "I am well aware of that," said No. 1 rather tartly, "but I have always considered Napoleon the more synonymous of the two." Literature, like wheat, potatoes, and other commodities, could give scope to a Synonym Committee, and I commend the idea to the British Academy.

For with increased specialisation, the outlook of learning in its broadest sense must tend to restrictions: learning and education may find themselves no longer such intimate colleagues as hitherto. How adjust the balance? In this connection it is worth while glancing at the liberal education in the United States, for there are marked contrasts with our own system. I base myself on recent observations by Mr. P. E. Meadon. In the first place, one is struck by the detachment of the Federal Government and the concentration of responsibility and effort upon local or State Authorities. Finance and direction being wholly decentralised, the autonomy of the State is unlimited. Scholarships and maintenance grants being unknown, undergraduates and High School scholars have to maintain themselves. Mr. Meadon discovered that the restaurant waiter who looked after him at supper was earning wages in order to attend his lectures at the University during the afternoon. I think of the youthful Carlyle. I fancy that this decentralisation, together with the financial independence of the student, encourages the Education Authority to humour its scholars by admitting every conceivable subject to the curriculum. The High Schools of New York, which would correspond to an amplified Secondary School at home, teach 300 subjects. Among these are accounting, advertising, duplicating, multigraphing, machine calculation, cafeteria management, laundry, millinery, basketry, bricklaying, broom-making, highways, rug-weaving, auditorium, first-aid, commercial English, newspaper English, typewriting and stenography. The Universities, too, are very obliging, the State of Indiana having just organised a degree course for the subject of marriage.

This wide range of subject matter must lead towards dispersion of effort, perhaps towards an aimlessness where the choice of pursuit is so wide, though we must bear in mind the great scale of these High Schools in New York State. Fifteen of them have

between five and ten thousand pupils apiece. The biggest has 10,059 boys, another in Brooklyn has 5500 girls and 4400 boys, with a teaching staff of 286. This conflicts with all our ideas, for our modern Secondary School is devised as the unit which can best develop a corporate sense and a team spirit, where the personal link of student and staff is close, and where in point of fact a good school tradition is growing with speed and intensity. I notice this all over Lancashire, County and Borough. Mr. Meadon tells us that social rather than intellectual aims dominate the American schools, and even that the social value of education is more emphasised than the economic. This, at least, has the merit of widening the appeal of self-discipline, for social ambitions will stimulate those who lack the scholastic ambitions of the prize winner.

In one direction the American tendency is towards an over-organised education, but as with ourselves the impulse is also towards specialisation. It is inevitable. We are driven by the overwhelming mass of material, cajoled by the hospitality of the reference library, coaxed by the idea that literary or historical research is an end and objective in itself. Such study becomes a science, and its instrument is the microscope. But the library should not become a mere laboratory, and a highly organised outlook need not divorce learning from the humanities. To-day a well-defined school of research claims that the collation and publication of facts as such is laudable. Usually the facts in question are already public property, but when collocated afresh through the good offices of bibliographies, they are reissued to the world and duly find a place in the next edition of the subject index. The fact as such does not necessarily deserve publication, at least Voltaire did not think so: "*Tout ce qui s'est fait, ne mérite pas d'être écrit*"—yet these compilations are turned out in great numbers irrespective of immediate demand or ultimate value. The curse of mass production does not only apply to bungalows or novel writing. One wants the scholar to be ever so much more than a fact hunter. "There is not a simpler animal or a more superfluous member of the State than a meer scholar," said Sir Thomas Blount in 1692. With more method, the effort being devoted to casual research would be infinitely

fruitful, but with more discipline too. Perhaps this combination explains why our astronomers are writing the most living prose of the day, because, however audacious themselves, and however vertiginous their data, they are always methodical and never undisciplined. Moreover, they operate through the telescope.

Research becomes a passport. Those who want reading tickets for the British Museum before they are 21 years old can always conciliate the Trustees by saying that they are engaged in research. We know that at the age of 16 David Hume announced that he was "mightily pleased with Longinus," but precocious as he was, we also know that in early youth he had laid the foundations for a great superstructure of scholarship. Thus many specialists—so-called—have to be quite uneducated. How can it be otherwise, if since their school-days vision has been focussed on some remote and narrow field. Specialisation begins too soon, because it is incidental to our examination system, and is as unavoidable in education as stocktaking is in commerce. But it leads scholars to accumulate facts. Do you remember how Contareni Fleming ran away from school because they taught him words, whereas he wished to learn ideas? "Few ideas are correct," scornfully replied his father, "and which are correct no one can ascertain—but with words we govern men."

But while I must not disparage the fact or the word as opposed to the idea, let me quote Joubert again: "*La manie de classer peut être bonne à l'endocinement, mais elle est inutile à la science. Elle aide l'élève à répondre et le docteur à enseigner: mais elle n'apprend ni à l'un ni à l'autre à connaître.*" And yet at times the prestige of research will arouse a certain disdain for the general scholar, who becomes an amateur in the eyes of the specialist, and this in spite of the fact that often enough one may hear the latter say (and not without the blush of virtuous modesty), this or that "is not my subject." There is no magic in research to justify its holding aloof from the main streams of intellectual enterprise. On the contrary, every tendency to labour in a blind alley should be resisted, so that all such effort may run parallel with general culture. The speed of technical development in physics (of which the equipment may change every five or ten years) ensures that investigators will keep in touch with

other branches of research. In educational theoretics we notice a caste of specialists growing up, and still more in the study of higher economics. So specialists come to write for specialists, whose detachment from the realities of life, as tested by the extent of the fulfilment of their predictions, diminishes confidence in their analysis of workaday problems. The super-specialist who is wrong suffers from what John Donne called an "elaborate and exquisite ignorance." Even if his contribution be harmless, he is enjoying hospitality at the expense of more serviceable scholarship.

For we want to mobilise learning to its maximum efficiency and use. The reason why so much earnest and painstaking research proves abortive is that discipline, that is to say, direction and control, are lacking. Talent is too often wasted by diversion into sterile channels. On the other hand, a research man with administrative intuition, and with the power of expressing himself in good English, is worth his weight in gold. The company director who can give the right impulse to his research staff may make the fortune of his shareholders. In the United States, while research is considered vital, it is held to be equally important, say in metallurgy, engineering or chemistry, that research should be guided by the research expert. Without this discipline, effort is dispersed and unco-ordinated. Here at home our libraries and universities are quick to multiply facilities for research, slow to help researchers to choose the right objective. Talent is discounted or even deflected. Industrial and technical research has to look after itself too often, and is led astray through inadvertences, for lack of guidance, so too in the arts, where a new language emerges, even a new slang. The literary critic talks the jargon of salesmanship, the art critic that of mystification, largely because they do not realise that even specialisation should be catholic in outlook and ancillary to general learning. Notwithstanding errors of judgment and proportion, French scholarship has never lost this tradition. Their literature enjoys the tremendous advantage (unacknowledged and often unconscious) of never having abandoned its homage to discipline.

Specialisation as such is based on laudable curiosity and adventure, enabling the student to strike out a new line, to assert his

personality, to know all there is to be known, and with accuracy too. But the tendency to over-organise grows apace. I do not complain of it in respect of crosswords, sweepstakes, or greyhound racing. I am indifferent in relation to (Cup) Ties, (Cricket) Tests, (Dirt) Tracks and (Betting) Totes: but in scientific developments, organisation and research progress so rapidly as to leave me bewildered. While reading a Sunday newspaper this spring I learned that three fundamental things are on the verge of being revolutionised—namely, light, speed and power: this trio of accomplishments on page 1. On page 2 I read of a man who is going to predict earthquakes, of another who is about to revolutionise cinematography; and finally, as a contribution to history, it is said that Leonardo da Vinci invented the wheel-barrow. I wonder if page 3 was equally prolific. One cannot help looking upon these marvels as the normal product of the laboratory, but while admiring the ingenuity and resource, I suspect that we shall be neither better nor happier for these prodigies of science, except in so far as they promote the health and physical welfare of mankind. Telephone, aeroplane, cinema, wireless, submarine, gramophone, charabanc,—our grandparents were not less happy because they neither knew nor possessed these trisyllabics: nor need we be pitied because we lack the devices which will begin by interesting, and end by boring our grandchildren.

Of more concern are the trend and tendencies of learning, the effects of which are deep-seated and continuing. Over-organisation is largely caused by the fear of overlapping, the instinctive dislike of wasted or duplicated effort, though for my part I prefer overlapping to over-organisation. In literary and historical research the danger cannot be ignored, and the bibliography in itself may canalise methods and thus lead to uniform treatment. All such uniformity is to be deprecated, for freedom of approach is valued. Over-organisation of personnel and profession is more common. When teaching methods are over-elaborated or where the teaching staff is disproportionate to the body of students, congestion will follow. In a theological seminary in the U.S.A., 117 students receive the attentions of a professional staff numbering in all 77. There seems no limit to

the organisation in all branches of our teaching profession. An endless series of enquiries, investigations and reports is always maturing for the unending congress and conference, and for the newspapers and reviews which are maintained by the most introspective and self-conscious of our professions. All aspects of organisation in its widest sense are studied, yet I notice a reluctance to devote much time or energy to one particular problem—how to teach, how to impart learning, how to instil education into the mind and memory of the student. It is assumed that the problem was solved long ago (has not the pupil teacher system been replaced by the occasional demonstration class?) and that nothing remains to be learned on this humdrum subject—how best to penetrate the student's mind and fire his imagination. But does not this function of the teacher develop and evolve as quickly as any other in the realm of educational science? Methods should assuredly change with every new phase of sentiment and personality in each new generation of scholars, and while the machinery, recruitment, politics, physique, tests, and finance of education are exhaustively canvassed the personal *viva voce* relation between the two parties to education receives relatively little discussion.

Were it the subject of closer and more frequent review, we might perhaps restore to the teacher his waning power of direction, and detach the student from his growing distrust of discipline. It is feared that discipline will limit self-expression,—a natural hesitation on the part of the student, which should neither excite surprise nor resentment. Nowhere is this attitude more respected than in the case of the young student of art, who attaches the highest value to his self-expression, which it is true he cannot define, or even understand when propounded for him in the turbid æsthetics of the art critic. These interpretations bamboozle him even if they do not mislead, but the outcome of his efforts is subject to concrete and tangible tests. The young painter soon finds that he requires much more than the truth to which his early and innocent search was devoted, more also of the dull uninviting toil of studio discipline. But his own restlessness and the enterprise of traders often entice him to a premature embodiment of his self-expression, generally a one-man

show ; this provides an opportunity of assessment denied to other branches of studentship. It is usual for the young painter to disregard what is considered old-fashioned or conventional, and he produces a series of canvases which may be unusual in formula, even if immature in sentiment. Yet I am told that the very existence of this freedom is giving an object lesson which suggests a return to a more self-disciplined outlook. For the moral is pointed by the pictures themselves, when they palpably lack the foundation of style and execution, in their technique. It is here that immediate failure is manifest,—falsified perspective and distorted form are all in the day's work ; but the sagging canvas, the corrugated surface, the pigment sinking in to it while the colour grows more and more murky,—these things are demonstrable evidence of failure, and the picture which lacks durability is generally unsaleable too. Hence a dawning return to a companionable discipline as the surest foundation for self-expression.

Elsewhere the student has fewer chances of experiment, and he cannot test his theories by ocular display. Where the instrument of learning is the library, the position of the teacher as fountainhead of discipline is higher than ever in importance, and I suppose that 2000 years have elapsed since the equipment, the zeal, and the efficiency of the profession have been excelled. But is there a tendency for his status and prestige as agent of discipline to recede, and is he voluntarily surrendering control to the demand for self-expression ? That a measure of unrest exists is acknowledged and must be reflected in his work and influence, especially if his hesitations are ambiguous and ill-defined. Suggestions begin to be made which show the insinuations of research. Is the teacher to teach, is he to research, or should he combine both functions ? It is variously claimed that he should be a regular researcher, doing original constructive work, and that he should devote one day a week to it, or two half-days, or a term, or a seventh year, and so on. The result of such a principle generally applied would be far-reaching, for one cannot take up research and lay it down again without incurring the risk of confusing whole-time teaching with part-time research. He would find himself exploring his own mind rather than that of the student. Perfunctory research would be a distraction of

small service,—the kind of investigation which exhumes a group of facts which have been forgotten or overlooked, because they were unknown to more than a handful of people concerned, and were without influence on the life and letters of their day. Better perhaps pursue research into the vast subject of teaching itself, which is within the teacher's daily purview, providing him with an endless series of living problems of practical application—research for instance into educational fatigue, which is curiously neglected compared with the ever-growing scrutiny devoted to industrial fatigue and vocational aptitudes. Here is a continuing enterprise which might be followed up with mutual advantage to student and teacher alike.

Sometimes in these discussions about research it is almost assumed that accession of knowledge is the only needful development, and it is generally argued that the power of teaching as such is necessarily enhanced by research beyond the occasional travel and the ordinary professional studies in which the teacher is always engaged. Eminent teachers have certainly been famed for research. Watson Cheyne has described the Edinburgh students hurrying and even running to get places in the theatre when Lister was lecturing, fifty years ago. At Glasgow, those who attended Kelvin's lectures often found his manner and matter rather dry, but there would come the moment, quite unexpected and without previous sign or warning, when the great man would begin to talk to himself, to set himself questions which he would proceed to analyse and answer, all unconscious of the company, which would busily absorb his extemporisations. But the fame of Kelvin and Lister, of Koch and Pasteur, and of Rutherford too, depends less upon didactic qualities than upon the distinction of their research. It was because their investigations were profound that their teaching was prized.

In all faculties of a university, the actual teaching must take precedence, and the second function of the normal teacher is not research but administration, a province which makes heavy claims upon leisure, but of which the importance is incontestable. It is true that some would place research and the enlargement of the teacher's equipment in the higher category. Be that as it may, nothing can replace the teacher as such, certainly no library

can : yet so great is confidence in the library as the complete instrument of learning, that a claim has been made that when organised on modern lines, it can take over the function of the teacher and provide the means of enabling us to direct ourselves efficiently. Note that this is expressly stated in terms of those who would otherwise enlist the guidance of a teacher. This is *bibliocracy*, and bibliocracy is based on profound and dangerous fallacies—in the first place that discipline and direction are superfluous, and secondly, that research via the Robot bibliography can replace exposition. “Let not the parables of understanding escape thee.”

The teacher must always remain the vital and vitalising instrument of learning. It is his function to maintain and even to harmonise the unities both for scholarship and research. He alone can correct over-emphasis, he best can expand and fertilise : from him alone can evocation be expected. His supreme province is leadership—guiding learning in general rather than pursuing it in particular. He should offer the inspiration of the Muse rather than the alliance of a condiscipulus. And then as administrator, too, he must extend his influence, while studying the ethics of his profession and the emotions of those who are more dependent upon his good offices than they are inclined to admit, or he himself to detect.

As for wisdom, the very true beginning of her is the desire for discipline : so for the better reign of learning we can formulate our requirements : Firstly, we would require spontaneity of research, but also closer direction—that is to say, freedom as well as control. We likewise desire the human margin of error, but also the fullest enjoyment of our available instruments—that is to say, the antidote as well as the stimulant. Is this asking too much, asking the impossible? Napoleon, whom I have already taken in vain this evening, once said that the most delicate of military operations was simultaneously to conduct a reconnaissance, an attack, and a retreat. Perhaps there has never yet been a satisfying fusion of incompatibles : but a problem is none the less intriguing because it is insoluble.

One final word about the twin pillars of scholarship—University and Library. While the alumnus of the University should

spread his discipline upwards and around him, his Alma Mater, with the growing respect so justly commanded, has the power of extending discipline downwards, and therefore ranks among the most effective agents of collective progress. But all alike are dependent upon the library as their instrument: all must dwell in the house of learning, and I salute our generous hosts of this evening. We are honoured by the welcome of this, the fourth library of the Empire. We rejoice in this harmonious equipment, incomparable when contrasted with the standards of the past, which ever diminish, as we travel back towards the beginnings of English learning, through Carlyle, Gibbon, Clarendon, Spencer—I picture to myself their admiration: I think, too, what would have been the wonderment of Chaucer or Wicliffe, of Gerald of Cambria, or Ranulf Glanvil—and in a still more remote age, what would Caedmon have said, or Bede? Each of them, from the earliest times down to our own, gave of his best according to the available instruments of learning; each of them handed on to his successor his own high tradition of discipline, of which we to-day, standing in the true line of succession, are the fortunate beneficiaries.

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE LIGHT OF ARCHÆOLOGY.¹

BY H. J. FLEURE, D.Sc.

PROFESSOR OF GEOGRAPHY IN THE VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

I.

THE linking together of the data of archæology, race-study, and sociological research is a task of the future and one of great intricacy and difficulty, but the steady stream of new discoveries in every field is beginning to draw forth attempts at synthesis, of which one by Professor Menghin² is among the most comprehensive.

Our species, or group of allied species, is descended from creatures that gathered food, in the main of vegetable nature, and that was grading from life among the trees to life on the ground, acquiring the erect posture, liberating the hands for new effort, improving powers of stereoscopic vision, for some reason diminishing markedly the hairy covering of the body; and, with the need of training to walk erect, and the nakedness of the soft skin, infancy under maternal care was prolonged. The assumption of hunting as a habit, and the use of tools, soon deliberately shaped, belong to a very early stage of our evolution, and it would seem that they gave men such power that these spread far and wide through the continents of the Old World. An early divergence in type occurred between what became *Homo sapiens* and what became *Homo neanderthalensis*, the former being known from early skeletons, especially in Africa, where Leakey has been able to demonstrate a very early skull

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 11th January, 1933.

² Menghin, O., *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* (Wien, 1931).

from Kanjera ¹ near Lake Victoria and the lower jaw of what is most probably a near predecessor of the fully evolved *Homo sapiens* from Kanam ¹ in the same area. The early skeletons of *Homo neanderthalensis*, on the other hand, belong essentially to Eurasia. The facts are, of course, not quite so simple as this, for the Piltdown skull and jaw may represent a predecessor of *Homo sapiens*, and belong to a very early stage of human life in Europe; while the skull from Broken Hill, Rhodesia, has kinship with *Homo neanderthalensis* as well as with *Homo sapiens*. Though its date is unknown, it is probably very ancient.

Homo neanderthalensis has a general association with early flake implements of flint, early *Homo sapiens* in Africa rather with implements made from pebbles or flint cores. At all events, pebbles and cores play a great part in the latter case though large flakes are used. But East and South Africa also have fairly pure flake cultures, though these are mostly less early. The distribution of early core implements is a characteristic one. They have been found in some parts of India, in North Arabia and Syria-Palestine, in South, East and North Africa and in South-west Europe. Menghin is drawn towards the idea of a birth-place of this culture in India, and of its spread via Africa to South-west Europe. Its absence from eastern Europe suggests at any rate that it got into Europe from Africa, which was of very great importance as a home of makers of core implements, though it may be well to await further evidence before deciding which region has the best claim to be their original home. The rise of these cultures somewhere in Africa or south-western Asia is probable, and would have been followed by a spread to India on the one hand and to South-west Europe on the other. That the more highly evolved core implements (late Chellean and Acheulean) are the work of *Homo sapiens*, and not of a ruder being, has long been felt by those who have been accustomed to handle those works of art. It is noteworthy, too, that apparently, when the early flake industries get into the region of the core industries, they show refinements of style and execution. Leakey has apparently reached a very similar view independently.

¹ See report in *The Times*, 20th March, 1933.

A provisional association of what are mainly core implements (and some flakes) with early *Homo sapiens*, and a more problematic association of early and rough flake implements with *Homo neanderthalensis*, may be made tentatively, the primary home of the latter species being in Eurasia. Menghin associates the origin of core cultures with the warm forest, which yielded wood scrapers and lances, while he thinks the flake cultures came from the steppe, on which wood lances could not be had.

According to general opinion *Homo neanderthalensis* has disappeared, while the hunting stage of *Homo sapiens* survives only in scattered regions.

With the rise of hunting there appears to have gone the differentiation of men's work and women's work, the former hunting, the latter collecting as of old. The group habit is strong among all modern hunter and collector peoples, and many archæological finds suggest its strength among those of early times. Man was already a social being, indeed it is fair to say that society is doubtless older than man. The hunting group is rarely a large one and rarely a permanent one.¹ There is a drift from group to group, and often an exchange of marriage-partners and so on, usually following lines of some social ethic which may well be different from our own. It is probable that the modern 'hunters and collectors' in many cases show results of the influence upon them of more advanced cultures, but their mode of life nevertheless suggests analogies with what can be inferred concerning the hunter and collector peoples of early times. The modern hunter and collector peoples survive, one might sometimes say linger, in the warm wet forests, in the steppe deserts of South-west Africa and Australia, and in the Arctic of North America, with a few in North-east Siberia as well. They also occur far and wide in America, though whether the last should be fully included in this group is not clear, it is indeed improbable.

A comparison of the hunter and collector peoples of the warm rain forest with those of the steppe deserts and the Arctic

¹ See Thurnwald, R., *Die menschliche Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1931).

brings out the fact that the former are very poor in art while the latter are remarkably gifted in this respect. There is inevitably an attraction towards an analogy with early phases of man's progress, for there are no traces of art, save that of tool-fashioning, among the early Palæolithic peoples, whereas the later Palæolithic peoples are renowned for their skill in drawing and modelling. Sollas,¹ also, for many years, has rightly emphasised the analogies, or more, between that drawing and modelling and the work of the Bushmen of South-west Africa. But there are dangers in the argument that the almost artless people of the equatorial forests parallel or represent the early Palæolithic people. One should not argue that the latter did not draw; drawing may be an art that has decayed among the forest hunter and collector people who still survive. Moreover, one cannot analogise the implements of the hunter and collector peoples of the warm wet forests with those of the lower Palæolithic cultures; from the former the implements known are chiefly of wood, from the latter the implements that survive are, naturally, nearly all of stone.

When the physical characters of the people concerned are studied, some very important points emerge. Firstly, men with short heads and a cephalic index usually between 77 and 84, in technical terms a growth-tendency distinctly towards mesaticephaly or even brachycephaly, with kinky hair, marked prognathism, very broad flat noses, feeble or absent brow ridges and short or very short stature, occur in the equatorial forest regions of Africa and south-eastern Asia. In both cases they are characteristic among hunter and collector groups only, though occasionally groups including these types may show traces of influences of other cultures. Also there are other physical types characterising other hunter and collector groups in these regions. Nevertheless, these pigmy peoples are types apart, with special assemblages of characters. It is better to speak of types, rather than of a type, for while the African varieties (Negrilloes) have rusty brown hair and yellow grey skin, the Asiatic (Negritoes) are generally darker, though they

¹ Sollas, W. J., *Ancient Hunters* (London, 1924).

also have red tints in the hair, and it is said that their cheek bones are less prominent. This last feature is probably correlated in some way with the fact that the head is broader than in most of the African varieties.

Unfortunately, ancient skulls and skeletons truly comparable with these pigmies are unknown, save that a dwarf found in an early tomb at Sakkara, Egypt, may belong to this group. Kollmann¹ described some skeletons found at Schweizersbild, Switzerland, and belonging presumably to the Neolithic phase of culture, as pigmies, but this identification was rather fantastic. The female skeletons from this station are diminutive, that is all. At Schweizersbild the cephalic indices range from 71.4 to 78 and in two cases the noses are distinctly narrow.

The absence of ancient skeletons resembling those of the pigmies does not, however, close the matter, for it is generally recognised that the increasing number of skeletons found, who belong to presumed extinct types of man, the Neanderthal race, Piltdown, etc., have a skull of mesati to brachycephalic proportions, if the measurement of length is so taken as not to include the great frontal torus. And like proportions are general among the anthropoid apes with the exception of a small minority of gorillas. It is therefore possible that the proportions found among the pigmies approximate to those of ancestral forms.

On the other hand, as was discussed last year, among the early representatives of *Homo sapiens* a large majority of cases have extremely long heads,² the height of which (basi-bregmatic height) is about equal to or greater than the maximum width. The brow ridges are often strong, making the eyes very deep set, whether those ridges stand out as almost separate features or are incorporated with the forehead. There are marked lateral temporal hollows. The nose is usually moderate and may even be quite narrow, the cheek bones are prominent, and prognathism is moderate even if the mouth is large. The better development of the nasal profile, compared with that in the

¹ See Kollman, J., *Z. f. Ethn.* 26 (1894), p. 189; also *Schweiz. Naturforsch. Ges.* 35 (1896), p. 81; *Anthr. Korr. Bl.* 36 (1905), p. 9.

² See catalogue given by Morant, G. M., in *Studies of Palæolithic Man*, IV, "Annals of Eugenics," 4 (1930), p. 109.

pigmies, naturally reduces the relative forward projection of the mouth. Apart from one group of supposedly early skeletons from Solutré, most skulls known from the later part of the Old Stone Age approximate to the general description above, save that the Cro-Magnon skull, and a very few others, differ in that in them the basi-bregmatic height is decidedly less than the breadth, and the face is short and broad. Also, whereas the other group is typically of moderate stature, the characteristics of the Cro-Magnon man usually go with marked tallness.

The interest of the first group is enhanced by the fact that most of its characteristics are found together among some primitive hunter and collector groups, notably jungle tribes of South India and the Veddah of Ceylon, and the Australian blackfellows, in both cases accompanied by hair that is wavy or curly but not fully kinky, and some other groups, who may have picked up elements of herding or cultivation or both, in the south of Africa (the Korana)¹ and the East Indies and Papua, in both cases kinky hair being a feature. The nose is broad, but less so than it is among the pigmies.

Two interesting southern groups, the Bushmen and the now extinct Tasmanians, also include a good proportion of extreme long heads but also some moderately long heads, their usual range of indices being from 67 or 68 up to about 78.

In the far north, the Eskimo of Greenland have extremely long heads, and heads of this proportion occur among the skull collections and among living remnants of native populations in various culs-de-sac in America, usually associated with a stage not far from that of the hunter and collector. The nose in these cases is medium to narrow, very narrow among Eskimo.

So far, then, the diverse groups of pigmies, with their assemblages of characters on the one hand, and the very long-headed, high-headed peoples with their assemblages of characters on the other, stand out as possibly representing two early drifts of man, the latter pushed out to the farthest corners of the earth, the former taking refuge in the equatorial forests. It might

¹ See Broom, R., *The Yellow-skinned Races of South Africa*, "Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.," LIII (1923), p. 132.

be discussed, without end and without profit, how far the pigmies are to be considered primitive and how far degenerate ; there is the same question about the types at the base of almost every genealogical tree, e.g. *Amphioxus*, *Balanoglossus*, *Nebalia*, *Polygordius*, etc. In a lecture last year, an argument was worked out suggesting North Africa and South-west Asia as the early home of *Homo sapiens*. Now, on the southern fringes of that zone in Africa, for example, in and near the Nile Sudd, are found men (Dinka and Shilluk) with extremely long, high, narrow heads, broad noses, kinky hair, very dark skins, and tall stature ; often they are herdsmen. And though the very broad nose and the kinky hair may not be general farther north, the other characteristics, often also with strong brow ridges, are common in and near the desert zone of North Africa and South-west Asia. They also occur among small numbers of people in several remote corners in Europe, there completely assimilated in mode of life to the population among which they live.¹

One may compare groups in which a fair proportion have the extremely long head and some the more moderately long head, along with dark colouring and more or less kinky hair, with the Tasmanians and Bushmen, but it is difficult to make much of this comparison.

More important is the fact that there are numerous groups in which most have moderately long heads (indices usually between 73 or 74 and 78 or 79), with perhaps a few persons who have extreme long heads. These groups are common in Africa, where they have kinky hair, thick lips, usually rather broad noses and often big cheek bones. Around the Western Mediterranean, heads of the same proportions, but hardly the same form in detail, have olive to white as the skin colour, wavy hair, moderate lips, moderate noses and smoother contoured faces, without noteworthy projection of the cheek bones. In the more fertile parts of North Africa, including Mauretania and Egypt, a corresponding type is widespread, but is darker in colouring than it is on the European side of the Western Mediterranean. Arabia has a similar type with perhaps rather

¹ See references in *An Early Chapter of the Story of Homo sapiens*, " Bulletin, John Rylands Library," Manchester, 16 (1932), p. 422.

stronger growth, and especially a more projecting nose that is rather narrow, or moderate in width. In India the population of the Deccan plateau is largely of a related type, with dark colouring, and much the same may be said of large groups in the East Indies. All these are essentially cultivators or herdsmen, the Africans without, the other mostly with, the plough, if they cultivate. They are usually organised in self-conscious durable groups with traditions which, if they possess the plough, may be cherished for the community by a priesthood. Again, if they possess the plough, they normally know the life of cities.

The evolution of cultivation and herding is a very involved problem save for some elements that stand out and are generally accepted. Cultivation arose from gathering, and the woman's digging stick is the primeval instrument, first improved by addition of a lateral foot-rest and then by broadening into a spade, i.e. a broad disc pushed in forwards. How the hoe arose, with its plate pushed in, as it were, backwards, is quite unknown, though one may make guesses. Some attribute the plough to an improvement of the spade, pulled by animals instead of being pushed by man, others think it is an elaboration of the hoe, as it were, turned round. The plough itself has gone through several stages of elaboration. The worship of a mother goddess is widespread in many forms, especially among cultivators with the plough, i.e. among the men who have taken over a large part of the work of cultivation from the women who did it at first.

Herding arose in the main from hunting and to some extent from the keeping of animal pets ; it is thus a man's job, and around it has developed a large measure of collectivism, a hierarchical authoritarian social scheme, organisation for defence and attack when the herds are large, and, often, high mobility.

Cultivation made women more valuable assets than ever in a community, and African groups show that, in several cases, hunter-men acquired cultivator-women. One can perceive the gathering into such groups of at any rate the females of older organisations. The cultivator mixes his blood freely, at least while he is still in the lowlier stages ; and there are many groups with systems of marriage-exchanges which are probably partly

intended as a means to promote peace. Herding made men more predominant than ever, and, with the close herding organisation, less likely fully to acknowledge unions with women not of their own breed and tradition. The prizing of genealogy among the herders is a marked feature, and male deities are important ; in some cases they are deified ancestors.

Cultivation almost certainly arose first near the rivers of South-west Asia and North-east Africa, perhaps in India as well, and one may picture a primary spread thence to the south-east and west. The other spread, to the south, in Africa, faced difficulties of climate limiting nervous energy and initiative, of unsuitability of the best of the primary crops for the new surroundings, of lack of local plants adaptable to cultivation, of the huge extent of warm wet forest in early times. The African intertropical cultivator is typically a woman ; and it is more than probable that much of the blood of the stock whence also spring the pigmy peoples has been handed down. It is evident that this stock has been less potent in India and Farther India, where at most, only a few traces of it survive, and even this small survival is doubted by some observers. Hutton,¹ whose experience of the area is unique, thinks traces of the type linger in Assam and parts of Farther India among the mountains. In the East Indies it survives here and there, but is very distinct from the rest of the population. In Papua, however, the general population is kinky-haired (but not quite as in Africa) and grades from almost pigmy to normal and occasionally super-normal proportions ; here the heads are mostly of the extremely long, high, narrow kind and the noses are fairly, sometimes very, prominent. It thus seems useful to think of a gradation with increasing importance of older types as one goes either south into Africa or east through South Asia to Papua, and in both cases there is also a gradation of social structure with increase of importance of older modes of life. The south-east of Papua, on a maritime highway out to the Pacific,¹

¹ See "Ency. Britt." XIV Edn., 1929. *Article Asia, Section Anthropology, Subsection Farther Asia.*

¹ See Haddon, A. C., *Racial Distribution in New Guinea*, "Geography," 12 (1921), p. 15.

is naturally excepted from this broad and necessarily imperfect generalisation.

The absence of cultivation and of the physique roughly associated with cultivator types from Australia and Tasmania points to physiographical changes isolating that region before the drift of cultivators had gone to Papua. Strays from drifts of this and, perhaps, later phases have touched Australia and have left fragments of culture, but the main later migrations depended on the development of maritime interest and took people out to the Pacific Isles rather than to Australia.

So far, consideration has been given chiefly to Africa, with western or south-western Europe as a northward extension, and to South Asia with Papua and Australia and Tasmania as south-eastern extensions. It is within this area that there occurred the earlier drifts of *Homo sapiens* and it is, mainly, within this area, with some extension in Europe, that one finds archæological evidences of these early drifts.

North of these regions of early cultures and drift lies, in Asia, the great mountain mass of Tibet with westward extensions in the Pamir and Hindukush, Elbruz, Armenia and the Caucasus. These, under conditions of the Pleistocene glaciation, must long have retained ice sheets and glaciers that formed important barriers, while G. F. Wright¹ has suggested that for some periods of the Pleistocene the lowland of Turkestan was largely under water, probably frozen in winter. If this picture be accepted as a tentative sketch, then it would be only when the retreat of the last glaciation had proceeded far enough that ways north of the mountains mentioned would be effectively opened up. The north-eastward drifts through Asia and its continuation in America seem associated, at the earliest, so far as *Homo sapiens* is concerned, with a more or less Tardenoisian or late Capsian phase, and in America, may be relatively late.

In this connection the rise and spread of broad-headed men demand consideration. Where they occur in more southern lands they seem to be immigrants, their main distribution in the old world is along and around the mountain zones of Central

¹ Wright, G. F., in "Q. J. Geol. Soc.," 57 (1901), p. 248.

Asia, Anatolia and Central Europe. Their origins are unknown to such an extent as to make constructive speculation almost useless, beyond the making of a very tentative hypothesis that the type came into existence somewhere, probably in South-west Asia, either in or near the Anatolian peninsula, on the north side of the more open areas on which the moderate long heads were increasing and spreading, and the extreme long heads were becoming restricted to regions specially mentioned above. This is not to say, however, that there were none of these long-headed types on the north side, for we have the extreme long heads such as the Eskimo and various other groups in American culs-de-sac, who undoubtedly represent an ancient drift; and in America, as well as among the Ainu in Japan, there are more moderately long heads, sometimes with the extremer kind intermixed. In the valleys of the Upper Indus basin, where the river runs north-westward between mountain folds, there live long-headed peoples among whom the extremer type of head characterises a small minority.¹

Still, types with broad heads, and types with heads intermediate between long and broad, but nevertheless larger headed than the pigmies, are characteristic of this mountain zone and, treated broadly, show some regional types.

In the mountain zone of Central Europe broad-headed people of moderate or short stature and wavy hair, with a thick-set build, a round skull, and sometimes a rather dead white skin are called the Alpine race, and form the characteristic type of the Central European peasantry. Knowledge of ancient skulls is as yet insufficient for a decision as to when this population moved in,² but there are broad heads from an epipalæolithic station at Ofnet, and Central Europe has had a peasantry since the dawn of the Bronze Age some time in the third millennium B.C., though the evidence from buried skulls is conflicting. The skulls from the loess areas near the present Czechoslovakian borders were, in large proportions, extreme long heads

¹ "Spedizione Italiana de Flippi," Ser. 2, Vol. 9; R. Biasutti and G. Dainelli, *I Tipi umani*, 1925.

² See Myres, J. L., *The Alpine Race*, "Geogr. Journal," Vol. 28 (1906), p. 537.

but a fair number of broad-headed ones have been found in and near the Alps.¹

Broad-headed, like the modern peasantry near the mountains of Central Europe, and like them in several other characteristics of head, skin, face and body, are some of the peoples of the Pamirs, and some elements among the Armenians.

It is difficult not to suggest a common and intermediate origin for these two, i.e. for the Asiatic and the European groups, especially as archæology suggests that Central European agriculture spread in from the south-east; and Myres has worked out the hypothesis of former better land bridges between the Balkan and Anatolian peninsulas.

In Anatolia and the western part of the Balkan peninsula there is a very broad-headed type² with a very straight occiput and an almost pyramidal general form, giving a look formerly emphasised by the wearing of the fez among Muhammadans. These men are usually taller than those of the previous type, and they have most prominent features, especially the nose. Around the fringes of this area here and there are rather tall broad heads who yet lack their extreme specialisation of head form. It is possible that this specialisation is an intensification of the brachycephalic condition, and that it has more or less superseded the older type, of more ordinary round head, in its original home, the latter having survived both to the east and to the west of the region of intensification.

Further east, and specially associated with the high plateau of Gobi and its mountain frame, there are rather different intensifications of broad-headedness, the most marked being that with the face flattened, the oblique eyes, the lank hair and the rather dense skin yellow-brown in colour. Buxton³ has usefully drawn attention to the presence among these populations of types also with strongly-developed profiles, and it is important to think of both variants, especially when studying the native

¹ See Bowen, E. G., *Racial Geography of Europe at the Dawn of the Age of Metal*, "Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.," 61 (1931), p. 349.

² See von Luschan, F., *Early Inhabitants of Western Asia*, "Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.," 41 (1911), p. 22.

³ Buxton, L. H. D., *Peoples of Asia*, 1925.

populations of America who have drifted into that continent via Alaska.

It is quite possible that these broad-headed types began to spread in the early days of the development of cultivation or of their acquirement of the arts of cultivation from their southern neighbours. There was obviously an important spread of population about the middle of the third millennium B.C. in and around the great steppe, and the resemblances between the pots from North China ¹ and pots from South Russia suggest clearly that there was some intercommunication. It seems legitimate to suppose that this period of dispersal or widespread extension was responsible for some of the drifts to America, especially as, in its earlier phases at least, it carried with it the polished stone implement, and this is a great feature of the American peoples. It is easily conceivable that in the long drift via North-east Asia and Alaska the cultivated plants of the old world should have dropped out of the equipment of the cultivators, no doubt not yet provided with the plough, but that when they found cultivable plants like maize in America they should have redeveloped cultivation. The absence of domesticable animals in America, other than the dog, the turkey and the llama of the Peruvian Andes, led agricultural development in America along lines different from those followed in the Old World.

The broad-headedness of Central Asiatic populations is a most striking feature at the present time, but, so far as the steppe of western Asia and southern Russia is concerned, this was clearly not the earliest type in the population. The graves of the third millennium B.C. yield a majority of extreme long heads, but they are not the type already noticed as forming the majority among the hunter and collector peoples surviving farther south. Here they are tall and strong, with narrow noses and often sharp profiles. Their type spread into Europe from the early Bronze Age onwards for a time, as is indicated by finds of skulls in graves especially on the loess of east Central Europe.²

The richness of the steppe in memorials of the dawn of the

¹ Arne, T. J., *Painted Stone Age Pottery from Honan*, "Palaeontologia Sinica," D. 1. (fasc. 2) Peking, 1925.

² See Bowen, E. G., *Racial Geog. Europe at Dawn of Age of Metal*, "Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.," 61 (1931), p. 349.

early Bronze Age contrasts with its poverty in remains of the late Bronze Age, save in a few special regions, while the traces of early Iron Age peoples, Cimmerians, Scythians and Sarmatians are abundant. This fact receives its interpretation when it is borne in mind that the latter half, and probably a portion of the first half of the second millennium B.C. was a period of warmth and drought,¹ when the Hyksos dominated Egypt, and various migrations from the Russian steppe to Central Europe took place. Late in the development of that climatic phase the Swiss lakes were reduced in size and the western Baltic was obviously prosperous and possessed of high-grade craftsmanship in metal. Spain suffered a set-back in the second millennium after a period of high cultural development in the third or at its end ; this is what would be expected under the conditions of climate above inferred. It is to be noted that intertropical Africa was very little influenced by Bronze Age movements, although the drifts associated with hunting and with early agriculture affected it considerably. The climatic hypothesis above suggested helps to interpret this most important gap in the African sequence, the consequences of which have doubtless been very serious. The Bronze Age movements obviously distributed far and wide men with considerable skill as craftsmen and a fairly high grade of organisation ; drifts of hunters and collectors, and step-by-step spreads of peasants, had given place in some measure to larger organised movements. As regards the steppe of western Asia and southern Russia, there was behind the movements probably the driving force of frequent droughts, but also the fact that, there, people had acquired increased power through the utilisation of the horse to carry them and to accompany them in battle. Once this is grasped we understand that those Bronze Age movements of these extreme long heads with strong profiles, which are of the later phases, were not towards North-east Asia and America, that was not a way for horsed conquerors. Their greatest efforts seem to have been directed towards Iran and India, and they are generally credited with being originators of the Aryan languages. There is little doubt that the Indo-Aryans reached India about the middle of the second millen-

¹ See Peake, H. J., and Fleure, H. J., "Corridors of Time," vol. 8 : *The Horse and the Sword*, 1933.

nium B.C. and that their purest descendants retain to this day the fine, sharp profile, the extreme long head and the tall stature of their ancestors, while the cult of the horse in India is a most interesting subject.

How these extreme long heads are related to those of the old Stone Age is not at all clear. If the relationship is sought, it must be remembered that some of the latter had very narrow noses.

There is still left, for the completion of this bare outline, a discussion of some populations in which the majority of the individuals seems to have a head of moderate length, on the whole rather on the long and narrow side of the medium condition or round about the medium, but very different in general development from what is found among the pigmies. Perhaps one may summarise in the broadest outline by saying that these are characteristic of parts of western Europe such as Britain and parts of eastern Asia, notably China.

Recent work¹ has claimed to show that the view held by many which brings the Chinese cultivators of the Hwang-ho plains down from Kansu by the Wei valley is wrong, and that the early kings were really connected with those plains. There is no denial of influences from the west via the Wei valley. In addition to the group on the Hwang-ho lowland there was a group in the valleys of the Wei and the Fen, this group being separated from the other by upland barbarians, and being probably the channel by which influences from the steppe and Kansu penetrated among the Chinese. But the Chinese people of the Wei and Fen were migrants up from the lower Hwango-ho, not people on their way down; their territory long remained a kind of outpost. The civilisation of the Chinese on the lower Hwango-ho, according to this view, was a development of the semi-barbarian modes of life found in South China and South-east Asia, and their sedentary and agricultural civilisation, intertwined with religious developments gathering around land tenure, would thus be something growing from southern roots with northern fertilisation by accretion of village units into what may be called a cellular or beehive state. This later spread its system bit by bit over the south.

¹ Maspero, H., *Les origines de la civilisation chinoise*, "Annales de Géographie," March 1926, pp. 135-154.

The newer view concerning Chinese origins has its difficulties, but helps to clear up long-standing problems about the contrasts in type between northern Chinese, among whom a large proportion has the cephalic index below 80, and the Buriats, Mongols, Manchus and Koreans whose indices vary rather round about 84 or 85.

There are thus indications of a spread of early agriculturalists via south-eastern Asia to northern China and doubtless to Japan as well, and this spread appears to have included moderately long-headed as well as some broader-headed elements. The abundance of moderately long-to medium-headed people in the west of Europe suggests that there also a migration included this element ; dating had better not be attempted in the present state of ignorance.

In the various ways sketched out above, the bases of the populations of the world's chief regions were laid down. As the ways north-eastward through Asia opened, when ice sheets and glaciers retreated, drifts of man to America occurred, at first epipalæolithic, and later influenced by the neolithic or polished-stone culture, possibly with the rudiments of ideas of metal in some cases. Whether the drifts were more or less continuous, or were in separate waves, one cannot as yet say ; both opinions have been put forward. It seems not impossible that elements of higher civilisation also came across the Pacific or around its northern side through the agency of drifted boat-loads. That main drifts via North-east Asia to America were partially composed of extreme long heads at first, and later included chiefly broad heads, is most probable.

Australia and Tasmania received, apart from strays, only the very early drifts, and preserved highly primitive populations until European influences came in. Melanesia, the Pacific Isles near Papua, received drifts of seafarers incorporating Papuan elements, but in the more distant parts of the Pacific peopling took place under the influence of better-equipped voyagers and was mainly of moderately long-headed types, some few suggesting kinship with peoples of Eastern Asia, others rather with Europeans.

In Asia long- and moderately long-headed groups predominate generally in the south, with blocks of immigrant broad heads

in South Arabia, West India, etc., and remnants of the extreme long heads here and there. In the mountain zone, and on the steppe, are now broad-headed peoples, while China appears to have large numbers of moderately long to medium heads. To the north, in Siberia, many groups are broad-headed, and have spread from Central Asia, but, towards the north-east, are some with more medium proportions, and eastwards thence in the north of America one, in a sense, grades off to the extreme long heads of the Greenland Eskimo. The ancient steppe peoples of western Asia, with very long, narrow heads and strong profiles, and a great love of the horse, are now mostly in North-west India and Iran, though some are said to remain north of the mountain chains among the Tajiks.

In Africa, Bronze Age culture and broad heads are not common south of the Sahara; the very early drifts of *Homo sapiens* obviously were important and mingled, so far as one can judge. Later drifts were mostly of moderately long-headed types, and kinky hair and thick lips are very nearly universal; it seems that invaders time after time have taken unto themselves the women of older stocks. In the zone of steppe and desert in North Africa and South-west Asia it is especially the moderate and the extreme long-headed peoples that form the population; and the former, with traces of the latter, has spread around the western Mediterranean and into western Europe. The last owes its population partly to this stream from the south and partly to the stream of broad heads along and near the Illyrian-Anatolian, Carpathian and Alpine chains. There are probably also survivors from the men of the Old Stone Age, and in north-western Europe the people with the indices 71 to 80 are specially numerous, however they came there. The spreads of race types have been shown to have some measure of correspondence with the spreads of social and cultural schemes, and both are intertwined in the sequences that archæology works out. The immense increase of knowledge concerning these spreads of culture and race in the last generation makes it less improbable than it once seemed that some day we may be able to trace out together, even if only in broad outline, the racial and cultural histories of mankind.

FLORIDA VERBORUM VENUSTAS : SOME EARLY EXAMPLES OF EUPHUISM IN ENGLAND.¹

BY E. F. JACOB, M.A., D.PHIL.,

PROFESSOR OF MEDIEVAL HISTORY IN THE VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF
MANCHESTER

I.

THE scribe who wrote in Archbishop Chichele's register the minutes of the Southern Convocation in October, 1417, noted the appeal of Oxford University for the more effective promotion of its graduates in these terms: '[afterwards] mag. Robert Gilbert, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, commended in flowery beauty of words the state of the University and the promotion of its graduates.'² The phrase occurs later (1426) when at the election of Alan Kirketon as abbot of Thorney, Dr. Stephen Wylton propounded the decree of election in this particular manner before the Archbishop's lawyers.³ In close connection with *florida verborum venustas* stand the terms *ornata verborum series*, to denote the rhythm and construction of the flowery sentences—perhaps the *cursus* in one of its forms. There are other instances where such expressions are used by the same registry: as, for example, when the Archbishop expounds the reasons for the summons of Convocation: *in maturo et deliberato verborum eloquio satis floride declaravit*.⁴

It may be no more than a busy clerk's method of abbreviating

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 8th of February, 1933.

² Reg. Chichele, ii, fo. 11 v.; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 381.

³ Reg. Chichele, i, fo. 44 v.

⁴ Reg. Chichele, ii, fo. 17: Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 394. Cf. Reg. Chichele, ii, fo. 11 v., 'causas convocationis eorum ad tunc elegantissime declaravit eisdem.'

speeches which for official purposes did not demand special record. The medieval scribe follows the *grammaticus* of classical times in regarding carefully chosen words, like historical episodes, as flowers. We might easily translate the words of our title 'in appropriate language'; but by so doing we might miss the point. The garden of the early fifteenth century is a botanical garden, full of specimens, each bed carefully and curiously labelled. To be 'natural,' as we say, in speeches and correspondence is a modern requirement, a thing demanded by the plain man in a democratic age. In the early fifteenth century the plain man did not address Convocation, confirmed no elections, and wrote but little to the great. If ever he had to take up his pen to compose in Latin, he did so according to rules and examples that lay before him. In every age convention has dictated the tone and phrasing of letters and speeches, but in few epochs has it been so much king in learned, that is Latin, composition. It was the heyday of models. This is the more interesting because, as Professor Chambers has recently pointed out, much devotional and mystical writing in English during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was the fine, straightforward outpouring of the heart, the 'plain and open style'; and English, as an all-round vehicle of expression in prose, was rapidly gaining the ground it had lost at the Norman Conquest.¹ Dr. Chambers rightly would not have us think that all English had been or was now straightforward. The Brewers, when in 1422 they proposed to use English in writing of their own affairs, after the manner of their sovereign Henry V, spoke of augmenting the English tongue,² and the increment

¹ Speaking of Trevisa's observations when he was translating Higden in 1385, he remarks: 'we might reasonably expect great changes when the children of 1385 had become the men of affairs of, say 1410 or 1420. Which is exactly what we do find. It is interesting to compare the proportions of English to French in legal, civic and official documents by 1375 (when English is practically non-existent), by 1400 (when it is to be found, though it is not common), by 1425 (when it has become common) and by 1450 (when it is winning all along the line). Then (except for its stronghold in Law French) French is driven out of England just as the English (save for Calais) are driven out of France: the two great consequences of the Norman Conquest vanish altogether.' *Nicholas Harpsfield's Life of More*, (E.E.T.S.), p. cx.

² Chambers, *op. cit.*, pp. cxii-cxiii.

only resulted in magniloquence. French models, which no one could forget, fostered the love of the ornate; and indeed, when speaking of the separate identity of English in the early fifteenth century, we should never forget the close approximation of many of its individual words and expressions to Latin on the one hand and French on the other. But the fact remains that until the desire 'to embellish, ornate and make fair our English' prevailed and 'Indenture English,' which Ascham condemned in the chronicler Hall, became widespread, a pure and vigorous English prose did exist, the English of More, the child of what Dr. Chambers calls 'the ordinary medieval prose of pious instruction';¹ in vivid contrast with the ornamental Latin speech and tortuous processes of thought and sentence-construction which we are now to examine. In proportion as this English develops, writing in Latin either becomes flowery and involved, or stiffens unmedievally with the imported classical forms of the early Ciceronian renaissance. In the first paper of this series I suggested that one of the fascinating points of the fifteenth century lay in its contrasts and juxtapositions. These incompatibles were found in Latin style itself: Thomas Elmham and Frulovisi, the two chief biographers of Henry V, have little in common; and just as little the two writers whose periods overlapped in the house of St. Albans, the solid and prolific Walsingham and the temperamental but almost equally prolific abbot, under whose rule Walsingham's last days were spent.

In his recent book on early English humanism, Dr. Schirmer has devoted considerable attention to John the Sixth or John of Whethamstede, whom he ranks as a Maecenas, a patron of literature and art like Humphrey of Gloucester or Tiptoft. Under him, Dr. Schirmer observes, 'the attempt was made to garb the literary activity of the convent in the formal, æsthetic spirit of Italian humanism.'² The time may not yet have arrived for a full estimate of this singular personality, for there is much work to be done upon the St. Albans' manuscripts suspected to have been compiled by him or under his direction during his two periods of rule (1420-40, 1452-65), while the years which

¹ Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. cxvii.

² *Der Englische Frühhumanismus*, p. 82.

he spent at Gloucester College (where he constructed the library) demand investigation. But one thing can be definitely stated: the problem of what Whethamstede wrote or did not write cannot be decided upon grounds of palæography alone; it will, needless to say, be necessary to make as complete a survey as possible of the various hands that occur in the contemporaneous St. Albans' books and treatises connected with him, but the style and the peculiar and highly characteristic constructions he uses in his letters are the true starting-point, and if one works along these difficult and often baffling lines, certain conclusions that have a close bearing upon our subject appear not improbable. The first is that in literary form the compilation known under the doubtful title of Amundesham's *Annales Monasterii Sancti Albani* and a considerable portion (covering at least the first printed volume) of the *Registrum* or 'register' of abbot John, both edited by Riley in the Rolls Series, are, whatever scribes were engaged in their actual production, due to the inspiration, if they are not the authentic work, of a single *dictator*. Otherwise however good an imitator the so-called author Blakeney (or whoever is reported to have written the *Registrum*) may have been of the so-called writer Amundesham (or whoever is supposed to have written the *Annales*)¹ it was scarcely possible for him to

¹ 'John Amundesham, the presumed writer of the Annals of twenty years of John Whethamstede's first abbacy at St. Albans': H. T. Riley, *Johannis Amundesham Annales Monasterii Sancti Albani* (Rolls Ser.), ii. ix. 'Scripsit acta Ioannis Whethamstede abbatis diui Albani': Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. Poole and Bateson, p. 176. 'Mortuum [Whethamstede] usque adeo magnificet, ut accurata diligentia eius vitam perscriberet et obrectatoribus imponeret frenum': Id., *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae . . . Catalogus* (1559), p. 592. Bale states that he saw certain works of Amundesham, two of which are apologies for the abbot, 'in Ramesiensi monasterio.' It seems possible that these are the treatises embodied in the MS. Cotton Otho B. IV. This badly charred volume contained, in addition to the items defending Whethamstede against the charges of his successor, 'Gesta paucula abbatis Johannis sexti . . . de tempore illo quo prefuit primo in officio pastoralis' (*Catalogus*, ed. T. Smith, 1696, p. 70), and thus may perhaps be the authentic work of Amundesham. There is no positive evidence earlier than Bale's statement to connect Amundesham with the *Acta* or *Gesta* of Whethamstede; and it is difficult to see what Bale really understood by the *Acta* at all. In one place (*Index*, pp. 263-4) he seems to refer to the 'abbreviated register' in MS. Arundel 34; in another (*ibid.*, p. 462) he appears to refer to Cotton Claudius D. I. It is possible, however, that he is referring to Otho B. IV the whole time.

have caught and sustained so consistently the mannerisms and the vocabulary of the narrative portions connecting the documents which he copies. The Arundel manuscript in the College of Arms (Whethamstede's 'register' of his second abbacy) is not, in the strict sense of the term, a register at all, but is constructed on exactly similar lines as, though without many of the headings in, Cotton Claudius D. I (the account of Whethamstede's first abbacy by the so-called Amundesham.) Both are written, to use the expression in the couplet beginning the 'register,' *more registrantis*, 'in the manner of one who registers.' Now the abbot's method of recording his own transactions may be gathered from a list of books given in the contemporary St. Albans' volume, Cotton Otho B. IV. There was a large and there was a small volume for each period of his rule; in the large his acts (*gesta magis notabilia*) were registered *plene et satis seriose*; in the small, *parumper diminute* or *succincte*.¹ Whether the College of Arms or the Claudius texts are the full or the 'succinct' versions it is not easy to say. I am inclined to believe that they are the full;² that the short *chronicon rerum gestarum* in Harleian 3775³ and the burnt *Gesta* in Otho B. IV, are abbreviations (though probably by different writers) in narrative form; and that the register of the abbot was a peculiar and personal record, differing from the average register in certain distinctive characteristics. Both the College of Arms and the Claudius texts connect the abbot's *acta* by narratives or explanations that abound in elaborate scriptural allegory, allusions from poetry and mythology and reflections couched in execrable hexameters. These explanatory or connecting portions of narrative, which are the crux of the matter, differ, except for the later part of the

¹ Fo. 16 (foliation of the mounted and restored text). The four items, recording the full and the abbreviated versions, are numbered in the contemporary list 25-28. It is probable that Tanner (*Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, p. 40) consulted the list of books in Otho B. IV, as his footnote seems to indicate.

² Thus it must be the Claudius D. I text (or part of it) to which reference is made in the entry: 'Item, in factura registri ejusdem, usque ad annum praelationis septimum, cum variis epistolis missivis xl s.': *Johannis Amundesham, Annales Mon. Sancti Albani*, ii, 270.

³ Fo. 102a *et. seq.* printed by Riley before Amundesham's *Annals* (*op. cit.*, i, 3).

Registrum, from the businesslike paragraphs of Walsingham in the *Gesta Abbatum*, or the short chronicle of the monastery in Harleian MS. 3775, to which we have alluded. In his biographies of the abbots Walsingham inserted documents in a very objective manner and connected them with straightforward and unelaborate narratives, so that the record of an abbacy appears as much the *gesta monasterii* as the *gesta abbatis*. This had frequently been the method of monastic annals, like those of Burton, Waverley, Dunstable and Barnwell, in the thirteenth century. But the two compilations before us are strongly and unmistakably coloured by the personality of a single commanding figure. In the twelfth century abbot Simon had maintained 'in his own chamber' two or three 'very choice writers' (*electissimos scriptores*), which resulted in a valuable store of excellent books.¹ Is it too fanciful to see both in Amundesham's *Annals* and in the abbot's *Registrum* evidence of a return to this practice? The respectable sums paid for works *De propria compilatione*² may help somewhat towards this point of view. At all events we are prepared for our second conclusion: Whethamstede's speeches, letters and almost untranslatable verses are not inserted and introduced by these lively and entertaining passages purely for their evidential value, but in the main for their literary merit. The records of his abbacy were to be literature as well as history, for the abbot was the first exponent of composition in his day. On 3 July, 1427, Archbishop Chichele requested him in the Council Chamber at Westminster to write 'certain letters of embassy' to Martin V 'both on behalf of the clergy of England and of the realm of England in general.'³ Martin's attack upon Chichele for his suspected defence of the Statute of Provisors was at its height, and in view of the difficulty that Whethamstede found in complying with the Archbishop's request, it is very likely that the letters formed part of the counter-propaganda on Chichele's behalf which reached the Curia in August that year.⁴ That the abbot should have been chosen for this delicate

¹ *Gesta Abbatum*, i, 192. See the remarks on him in Professor Claude Jenkins, *The Monastic Chronicler and the Early School of St. Albans*, pp. 27-9.

² *Amundesham, Annales*, ii, 270.

³ *Amundesham*, i, 17.

⁴ *Wilkins, Concilia*, iii, 473-8.

task testifies, as Riley well observed, to his reputation as a writer.

There was no more outstanding master of the flowery style and none more thoroughly conscious of the fact than Whethamstede. The entertaining account of his visit, as representative of the English Benedictines, to the General Council of Pavia (shortly afterwards removed to Siena) in 1423 shows his conceits and mannerisms at their most typical. He had accepted deprecatingly, but with barely concealed pleasure, his selection by the King's Council as one of the English delegation, and like a good husbandman, he says, had first visited his vineyard, calling upon his monks to reveal any matters that needed correction, with the words : ' a little while, brethren, and ye shall see me, and again a little while and ye shall not see me, because I go to the Father ' (Martin V, his purpose being to gain privileges for the abbey).¹ Then followed an exchange of letters with the Archbishop, whose businesslike style contrasts markedly with the abbot's :

Son in Christ and dear friend. We recollect, and assume that you do also, that in an earlier letter we told you of the King's wish that you should go to the General Council now imminent ; it is our desire that you should inform us of your intentions in this matter, and in the event of your being disposed to start, that you meet us in London on Passion Sunday, to hear and understand, along with the other prelates who are crossing too, what conduct you shall pursue to the honour and profit of the English Church and its government in the business of this expedition. Fare you well in Christ, dear son and friend, now and, we trust, in the time to come.

Here is the abbot writing to Chichele (of whom he speaks elsewhere in bitter terms):—

In the humble service of our great President an offering of incense, worthy of God, for a sweet savour. Illustrious lord and father, through your merits honourable above others : after we had received with becoming reverence your lordship's letters and had read and fully understood their intent, we decided to inform you that, although our flesh beginneth to be sore amazed and very heavy, and even now to drink the cup of that journey beyond the seas, our spirit is none the less willing to take up the cross with Christ, and as resources of knowledge, ability or finance permit, to labour faithfully for the redemption of the Church now in bondage. If the Author

¹ Given in *Amundesham*, i, 157-62.

of Salvation favour me, I shall come to London before or about Passion Sunday, ready then and, as my estate permits, disposed to climb new summits of Calvary, and to do all and sundry in this respect that the dread authority of your lordship shall enjoin upon me. Whom to the happy increase of his worship may the mercy of this world's Creator (*plasmatoris*) preserve for prosperous future days.¹

All mention of pagan deities, mythology and ancient history has been appropriately excluded from this letter, which is in marked contrast to the one written by Whethamstede to the convent on landing at Calais after a tempestuous voyage :

Dear friends : Concerning the great perils of the tempest at sea from which, now that the monster ocean has been appeased, we have by grace been preserved, we are erecting altars of incense to Neptune, who at the intercession of his Thetis calmed the watery storm into a breeze, and spake and the breath of the tempest was stayed and its waves were stilled. To begin, the nature of our business urging us on, we embarked on our mariners' vessels in the teeth of the wind and immediately upon going on board commanded that the main sail (*circumflexum velum*)² should be hoisted and bade our sailors set themselves to row, hoping that Aeolus, who favours sailing craft, would in the end be propitious ; and that after a short while he would command Eurys who opposed us to go back to his cavern and that kindly Circius (the west wind) would blow in answer to our hope. But in no way did events follow our aspirations : since before the friend of Apollo had given us our full allowance (*plenam praeendam porrexerat*) and his steeds were tired, all at sea with us suffered the spirit of giddiness, and we, shame to say, were struck with terror and with all the others in every respect suffered watery sufferings (*aequoreas passi sumus passiones*).

Then follows a long passage, crammed with mythology, about the storm and its gradual decline : at which 'we were glad, since the waves were silent ; and prostrating ourselves'—though doubtless prostrate already—'we offered incense to the marine deities, who had rescued us from the Scyllan gulf of the furious tempest. We therefore pray you also to offer with us similar sacrifice and to ask the sea gods this privilege and that after these perils of the waves that did so affright us, we may never be terrified henceforth . . . and on bended knees we beseech you to pray without ceasing for such an outcome.'³ The monks

¹ *Amundesham*, i, 118-19.

² So called probably from the shape of the rigging.

³ *Amundesham*, i. 126-7 ; Schirmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-9.

would doubtless know well how to interpret this playful polytheism, if indeed it ever got further than the abbot's notebook. His mythological manner meant that he was in good humour, and was less formidable than his biblical strain, which was specially reserved for monastic delinquents or his enemies at law. The poor brother who sought permission to migrate to Christ Church, Canterbury, on account of the musical facilities there, is castigated in the best homiletic style :—

Out of the clay of the earth and out of the dust of poverty was this man created, and placed in a Paradise of contemplation, that there he might work according to rules, and to keep watch over it in monastic form ; it being granted to him freely to enjoy all claustral delights, and indifferently to eat of every tree of religion, provided only that he should keep one commandment, that is, faithfully abstain from the tree of knowledge, which tendeth to evil. Now a certain one, who was a crafty serpent, seeing this, who had theretofore himself departed from this cloistered heaven (*claustrali caelo*) and who was now enjoying a life at Christ Church more musical than monastic, envied the happy state of this man, and seeking the Paradise from which he had taken his departure, transformed himself into an angel of light, and offered this flexible brother a threefold apple (*pomum triplarium*) for him to taste. An apple, that is, of sweet refection, as touching¹ the stomach, an apple also of pecuniary profit, as touching the chamber, an apple too of free conversation, as touching recreation ; and further made promise to him of a knowledge of the art of music, which would make him equal with the gods therein, if he would but taste thereof.

That brother, acting the woman's part, seeing how honied was this apple to the taste, how golden to the sight, how honied, how golden, how silvery to the smell, gave heed unto the serpent's hissing, and, with the woman's impulse, seized the apple, bit a full mouthful of it,² and yielded unto the tempting snake his full consent to migrate. Consent therefore being given, and the sin of trespass in the matter of a habit being committed, it was devised and contrived on either side, with all possible clandestine craftiness, how that the fallen brother, throwing off the cowl of immortality, might by his departure put on the garment of mortality, and rejecting the clothing of original justice, might pass into the state of the fallen and relinquish his primeval rank of innocence.³

¹ The correct reading here is not *quam ad*, but *quantum ad*.

² Not 'bit it full in the mouth,' as Riley translates.

³ *Amundesham*, i, 89-90 ; Riley's translation (ii, xx-xxi) with some modifications. On the abbot's fondness for rounding off these homiletic passages with hexameters, see G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, p. 579.

The written permit for the brother to change his monastery is described as *tunica migrationis pellicea*, 'the skin coat of migration'; it began with a greeting 'in Him that put His hand to the plough and looked not back.'

This is not the writing of a humanist, though humanists might be equally allegorical. The threefold apple (a preacher's fruit) would have put the genuine classic to flight. No humanist ill at Rome and turning his face to the wall would have seen in his sleep, as abbot John did, St. Bernard promising him life, if henceforth he would read his books. It was the abbot's *Ciceronianus es*, his warning against too much literary paganism. Whethamstede could never have penned the gracious ending of one of Bishop Fox's letters to the President and Fellows of Corpus :

Studete virtuti, et bonis literis omnibus viribus certatim operam inpendite, filii non minus quam si vos genuissem nobis carissimi.¹

He was as great an exponent of courtly prose in his day as was Thomas Bekyngton of the language of diplomacy; but it was always the courtliness of the cloister and in the depths of his being he felt the fact. While unwell upon his Italian tour he was told by a courteous Venetian stranger of a doctor who could cure him, and later discovered that his informant was a leading humanist. His unbounded grief at not recognising the great man 'while he was with us in the way,' and his preposterous letter to the *fons rhetoricae Venetiis scaturiens* (he kept a copy of it) exactly convey the futility of his efforts after the polished ease of the South.² But if he could not capture the spirit, he could at least teach others the mechanism; and that is the point of his dictionaries and aids to elegant allusion, and the mass of notes and *obiter dicta* that are scattered over his various compilations. It was doubtless this erudition that won him the friendship of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester and Piero da Monte.³

¹ *Letters of Richard Fox*, 1486-1527, edd. P. S. and H. M. Allen, p. 104.

² See Schirmer, *op. cit.*, p. 90; Jacob, 'Changing Views of the Renaissance,' *History*, XVI (Oct. 1931), 226-7. The remarks of Mr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams (*History of the Abbey of St. Alban*, p. 204) on Whethamstede's literary activity should be received with caution.

³ For Piero da Monte's relations with Whethamstede, see Schirmer, pp. 85-7.

This body of joint classical and medieval learning has long been a puzzle to scholars. Whethamstede is known to have composed works entitled 'Granarium,' 'Palearium,' 'Pabularium poetarum,' and 'Propinarium.' The first and longest of these has been thought discoverable in three manuscripts, Cotton Nero C. VI, Tiberius D. V, and Additional MS. 26,674. Dr. Schirmer has rightly pointed out that Additional MS. 26,674 is not the 'Granarium' at all, but the 'Palearium';¹ but his views on the other two manuscripts, based on incomplete knowledge of the sources, appear open to correction in view of the very thorough survey of Whethamstede's writing recently completed by Miss Esther Hodge,² who has proved, convincingly to my mind, that of the four volumes (not five, as Tanner thought) into which the large dictionary called the 'Granarium' was divided, we possess two in the original version (Nero C. VI and Tiberius D. V, representing respectively entries under the letters A-L in Part I and the whole of Part II of the work), as well as excerpts, in other manuscripts, from the whole of Part I (A-Z), and a complete alternative transcript of Part II, while two articles from Part III also survive in the Bodleian Manuscript 585.³ Of the two parts of the 'Granarium' which have survived in the original version or in extracts, the first, labelled *de historiis et historiographis*, is a lengthy dictionary of historians and their works and of important institutions viewed historically (e.g. the entries *concilium*, *ciuitas*, *ecclesia*). The second part, headed *de viris illustribus illorumque illustriis, de doctrina philosophorum eorumque dictis et dogmatibus*, contains, as its title suggests, articles on the heroes of antiquity and is more concerned with

¹ Schirmer, p. 93. This is of entirely different size, script and character from those of the Nero and Tiberius volumes.

² In her unpublished dissertation, *The Abbey of St. Albans under John of Whethamstede*. Schirmer appears to think (p. 92) that Tiberius D. V has been rendered illegible by fire; and he neglects other manuscripts in which Miss Hodge has found excerpts from the original volumes.

³ Miss Hodge has also identified the 'Pabularium,' but not the 'Propinarium' which was apparently presented by Whethamstede to Oxford. (It is possible that the *Rupinarium*, referred to in the Cottonian Catalogue of 1696 (p. 70) as partly contained in Cotton Otho B. IV, is Smith's misreading of *Propinarium*.) I do not wish at this stage to anticipate her results beyond pointing to their utility for a comprehensive estimate of the abbot's work and reputation.

moral adages than with institutions. The 'Palearium,' true to its name, holds the chaff rather than the grain ;¹ it is a dictionary of classical mythology and allusion, the fluttering gold of the ancient threshing-floor, valuable for anyone attempting the kind of panegyric that Lapo da Castiglionchio wrote for Duke Humphrey.² The frequent practice of early humanism was the comparison of the patron addressed to the heroes of ancient history or classical mythology, and the 'Palearium' would here be a useful guide. With these two works at hand, a writer would have at his disposal, alphabetically arranged, a *corpus* of Christian and pagan learning to tell him what authors to cite, what metaphors and allusions to employ, and how to moralise elegantly upon the vices and the virtues, fortune, conjugal fidelity and so forth. Whethamstede's dependence upon John of Salisbury and Vincent of Beauvais is very marked, and evidently he venerated their encyclopædic learning. It is much to be hoped that a study will be made of his authorities and the use he makes of them, as has been done for another and more weighty dictionary, the *Liber de veritatibus* of Thomas Gascoigne ; for at the end of each article the abbot invariably cites both author and reference for his statements, and his sources can be traced in almost every instance.

In the 'Granarium' the writing is sober and direct, and there is little exuberance. It is essentially a work of reference. Under each historian a brief analysis of his work is given : the main classical writers and the apologists of the Christian Church are allotted summaries at lengths that vary according to their general currency at the time rather than their merit. The greater figures of Western Christendom are discussed both in the light of ascertained fact as well as of legend and conjecture. Where controversy exists, the arguments for and against are

¹ Of one article in the 'Granarium,' he imagines his opponents saying 'capitulum illud . . . non granum esse quod in sementem seritur, immo magis paleam, que vento leuissimo exsufflatur.' MS. Cotton Nero C. VI, fo. 56 v.

² The 'Comparacio studiorum et rei militaris': MS. Bodl., e Museo 119' fos. 116-43. On the use of classical mythology and ancient history by later medieval writers, see J. Douglas Bush, *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*, ch. i, 'Classical Themes in the Middle Ages,' and ch. ii, § 2, 'The Sources of Classical Mythology,' pp. 30-35.

fairly stated, and the summing up is moderate and conservative. Under Brutus, 'who according to the histories of the Britons (Geoffrey of Monmouth) gave his name to Britain,' the abbot admits that according to other histories which some rank higher than the last-named, 'the whole story of Brutus is *poeticus potius quam historicus*, and four reasons are stated why this is so. One is that Britain is not so named from Brutus, but from brutality, because once upon a time 'very brutal men lived in those territories.' According to these rationalists "it is a work of vanity and absurd to vindicate dignity of race without any basis for such vindication. For only virtue renders a people noble, and it is only mind and reason that makes a man of gentle birth and ennobles him in his origin, since, as Seneca writes in his letters : 'there is no one who is not originally descended from slaves, and no slave that is not descended from a King.' Let it be enough then for the Britons, in this question of noble origin, that they are powerful and strong in battle and everywhere defeat their adversaries, and suffer no yoke of slavery at all." After this early 'Rule, Britannia,' he gives his authorities : 'partly Isodore's Etymologies, the third chapter ; Ovid's Fasti, near the beginning; and the Transformations (Metamorphoses)¹ well towards the end ; partly Ranulph (Higden) in his Polychronicon, Book II, Chapter 27 ; and more summarily Geoffrey of Monmouth, *de gestis Britonum*, the first book, at the beginning.'² *Ciuitas*, one of his longest articles, leads him into the etymology of town names ; and he gives a little urban geography of Europe, with the capitals and the names of their founders ('Cnossos, Crete, founded by the Curetes and Corybantes,' etc.). His authorities here are interesting : the beginning of Livy ; Sallust's *Cataline Conspiracy* and the *Jugurthan War*, Solinus, *De mirabilibus mundi*, *passim* ; Justin's Abbreviation of Trogus Pompeius ;³ Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book I ; Ovid's *Transformations*, Book III ; Josephus's *Anti-*

¹ On the moralising of Ovid in the later Middle Ages, cf. Bush, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

² MS. Cotton Nero C. VI, fo. 33.

³ This is one of his favourite works. On its popularity cf. Ruehl, *Die Verbreitung des Justinus im Mittelalter* (1871).

quities, Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* ; Jerome upon Genesis ; the eighteenth book of the *De Civitate Dei*, especially chapter ix ; Jordanes of Ravenna's *History of the Goths* ; Godfrey of Viterbo, William of Tyre, Orosius and Boccaccio's *De deorum genealogiis*. The last reference is worth noting. Only four works of the humanists are cited throughout ; besides this, Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* and Leonardo Bruni's translations of Plutarch's Lives of Antony and of Cato.¹ One of the most illuminating articles is upon Constantine. Here he defends in a moderate way the legendary figure against the attacks of the rationalists. On three points, he says, my account of him has been challenged : the cure of his leprosy by Pope Sylvester, his endowment of the Church in the Donation, and his miraculous baptism. Take the first. If so remarkable an event had happened, surely, it is urged, Eusebius or some contemporary or later historian like Jerome, Eutropius or Orosius would have mentioned it. The writers of the Tripartite History altogether omit it ; and Godfrey of Viterbo declares it to be apocryphal. Against the Donation there are even stronger arguments forthcoming from historians to show that the Empire was both devised by Constantine and inherited by his descendants. Against his baptism, Sozomenus and the letters of Ambrose are cited by the modernists to prove that it was at the very end of the Emperor's life that he was baptized. To these arguments Whethamstede replies that the bible story may provide an analogy and point a moral. The fact that certain events find no mention in the Evangelist does not preclude their likelihood. There is no mention in St. Matthew or St. Mark of the fall of the idols when our Lord came into Egypt : ' and yet it does not thereby follow that the statements of Jerome upon Isaiah are mere tittle-tattle.' Similarly from the omission of the synoptic gospels to mention a fact or event it does not follow that St. John is in error when he does so. On the question of the leprosy, says the abbot, ' in historical matters we ought to trust the more reliable writers. Now the more trustworthy in their writings are James of Genoa, Hugh of Fleury, Vincent of

¹ MS. Cotton Nero C. VI, fos. 40-46. References to Leonardo's translations are also given on fos. 21 and 39, and to Petrarch on fo. 175.

Beauvais, Gratian of Bologna, Isidore of Seville, and Pope Gelasius the first, all of whom with one consent approve this miracle.' ¹ This is a true medieval garner, and if one compares with it the titles of the books which he had made for the library of the convent, there will be little doubt on which side of the dividing line the learned abbot is to be found. Yet he wins our heart by his devotion to that sanest and best of English medieval treatises, the *Policraticus*, and by his gathering of rarer flowers like Julius Firmicus Maternus, Helinandus of Froidmont, Petrus de Palude, Alexander de Helpidio, and Cardinal Adam Easton, the champion of St. Bridget.² The contrast therefore between this grave work and the light-hearted 'Palearium' is very marked. Here beside the usual repertory of classical authorities, Virgil and Livy, Ovid, Statius, Persius, Aulus Gellius, Valerius Maximus, Servius on Virgil, Seneca's tragedies and letters, Pliny's *Natural History*, and one mention, though without precise reference, of the *Odyssey*, the dominating influence is Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Gods*. From which it may be gathered that certain of its articles come somewhat inappropriately from the abbatial pen.³ This would not disturb the vigorous polymath of the fifteenth century, the prince of English lexicographers.

II.

When a scholar secures admission to the Vatican Library or Archives to-day he is very properly instructed, before setting to work, to write a letter asking the Holy Father's permission to utilize the manuscripts or records that bear upon the particular subject of his research. As he casts about him in perplexity for the right words, the *ornata verborum series*, a card

¹ MS. Cotton Nero C. VI, fos. 53v-56.

² The best of the semi-institutional articles are those on Ecclesia, fos. 71-3; Eugenius (where, under Eugenius IV, he shows considerable knowledge of the Council of Basel and quotes from its *Acta*: did he know the volume now MS. Emanuel Coll. Cambridge, no. 142?); Johannes (especially John XXIII, and John Hus; in the former of these he quotes 'auctor recollectionis actorum concilii Constantiensis'), fos. 157-65.

³ Add. MS. 26, 764, especially those on Asellus (fo. 12), Lothis (fo. 83), Priapus (fos. 104, 104 v). The reference to the *Odyssey* is on fo. 12.

is placed before him bearing the correct formula of address and ending. In the Middle Ages not only was the outline provided, but in numerous cases the contents as well. Until the great collections of English private letters (Paston, Cely, Stonor) make their appearance in the fifteenth century, we owe the preservation of correspondence in the main either to administrative and official reasons, or to its aptitude in providing models for future use. It is this latter aspect that has been surprisingly neglected in this country. The systematic study of the *ars dictandi*, or art in composition in prose and verse, on the Continent and in America by generations of scholars from Ludwig Rockinger down to Professor C. H. Haskins might have given us the lead. We have edited and published our unique series of treatises upon administrative practice from the *Dialogus* as far as the sixteenth-century writers on the Justices of the Peace; and in the sphere of justice, from the manor to the King's Court, we are not badly provided with printed tracts upon procedure. But English rhetoric has been neglected, with serious consequences to other kindred subjects; for, to quote Dr. Haskins, 'while rhetoric was devoted chiefly to the art of letter-writing, it had at the same time significant relations with formal grammar, with the reading of Latin authors and with poetical composition.'¹ In a recent essay I ventured to give examples showing how considerably our appreciation of the influence of classical authors in medieval England might be improved by a less restricted selection of the materials for research.² But there are other fields of greater relevance where fresh initiative will produce results. The analysis and publication of the letters of medieval students by Dr. Haskins³ and Mr. Pantin⁴ have suggested how much in regard to the technique of composition could be learned from this quarter; and another branch that has long called urgently for attention is the style and method of the local

¹ 'An Italian Master Bernard,' *Essays in History presented to R. Lane Poole*, p. 211.

² 'Some aspects of classical influence in medieval England,' *England und die Antike* (Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, ix, 1932), pp. 1-15.

³ *Medieval Culture*, Chaps. I and II.

⁴ *A medieval treatise on letter-writing, with examples.* (John Rylands Library.)

chancery or registry, whether lay or ecclesiastical. By 'local' here is meant non-royal and non-Papal, e.g. the diocesan registry.¹ It is from local sources for the most part that are derived, in the later Middle Ages, the letter-books and formularies which are the most important source of information for the *dictamen* in England. The primary need is for a census of these works in each of the great collections. If the private charter and cartulary can be studied, why not the private letter-books?

It is not so much the historical contents of the letters they comprise as the manner in which they are written that concerns us; with their service in providing models for elegant composition. A forthcoming study of the *cursus* in England by Mr. Noel Denholm-Young is likely to make clear the profound effect of the Papal Chancery upon local chanceries and registries; and the lesson will be driven home in another way when Mr. G. Barraclough's calendar of the *Formularium notariorum Curie*, with its exhaustive study of the manuscripts, has been published. Somewhere about 1270 an English *dictator* at Paris, Johannes Anglicus, identified with Johannes 'grammaticus' by Bale² and Tanner,³ wrote in the course of his 'poetria de arte prosaica, metrica et rithmica' an analysis of the various styles of the *cursus*, which is preserved along with an Orleans *dictamen*, now in Munich;⁴ and it was round about 1289 that Archbishop Pecham, no mean poet himself,⁵ got the Italian notary, John of Bologna, (whom he may have known at the Curia)⁶ to send him a *summa artis notarie* for the use of the legal notabilities of the

¹ It is perhaps a better term than 'private,' regularly used by the Germans. Cf. H. Bresslau, *Urkundenlehre*, I (2^e Aufl.), 142 f.; O. Redlich, *Urkundenlehre*, III Teil (Privaturkunden), 153-208, a chapter, with bibliography from German sources, on the development of the local chancery.

² *Catalogus*, p. 325; *Index*, p. 176.

³ *Bibliotheca*, p. 434.

⁴ Printed by Rockinger in 'Briefsteller und Formelbücher des elften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts,' *Quellen zur bayerischen und deutschen geschichte*, Bd. 9, i. 485 f. The Orleans *dictamen* is in *ibid.*, p. 97 f. See A. C. Clark, *The Cursus in medieval and vulgar Latin*.

⁵ See the list of his poetical works by C. L. Kingsford and A. G. Little in their bibliography prefixed to *Fratris Johannis Pecham . . . Tractatus tres de paupertate* (Brit. Soc. Francisc. Studies, ii), pp. 7-10.

⁶ He was there c. 1277-79.

Court of Canterbury. It is worth quoting John's opening words :—

Since the holy Roman Church is mother and mistress of all, every one ought, in so far as God permits him, to imitate her in all her processes. Seeing then that your solemn court and the kingdom of England is almost entirely lacking in persons who have knowledge of the notaries' art according to the form of the Roman Curia or any suitable form, but that the proceedings in the cases, the processes before the judges, the verdicts in litigation and other matters pertaining to justice are written as they occur by men who, though probably well versed in other things, are entirely ignorant of the art of the notariate, one without which none can proceed in such matters unless he wishes to feel his way with a stick as if in the dark, (from which groping judges often suffer abuse and litigants inconvenience); led on therefore by my devotion to you and wishing to satisfy you and your court and the whole realm, as well as to further the profit of all, I have begun this little work. . . .¹

It is seldom that one finds any allusion to this valuable and comprehensive formulary, perhaps the basis of much notarial work in the Primate's court, and a document which must have had an effect, indirectly, upon forms of procedure and methods of registration within the dioceses at large. The point to emphasize is that it was the later thirteenth century that transmitted to England some of the Continental enthusiasm for the *ars dictandi*, so that throughout it and the whole of the later medieval period, formularies, like collections of sermons, multiply. From foreign sources the compilations most frequently found in libraries seem to be those of Peter de Vineis, Thomas of Capua and the Roman notary Ricardus de Pophis. But from this new feeling for expression it must not be inferred that the *dictamen* is the art of writing involved and flowery epistles. To the writer of the Orleans *summa* the letter is but one form of prose composition (the others are *oracio* and *retorica*), and is defined as 'oracio congrua, suis e partibus conuenienter composita, affectum mentis plene significans.'² Apart from the information conveyed, its main interest, as a prose form, lies 'in the conscious

¹ Rockinger, *op. cit.*, ii, 603-4. It would be interesting to know whether Pecham was acquainted with Johannes Anglicus at Paris. For his time there, cf. A. G. Little, 'The Franciscan School at Oxford,' *Arch. Francisc. Hist.*, 1926, p. 852 f.

² Rockinger, *op. cit.*, i, 103.

attempt to suit the style to the occasion, and thus to be in turns involved, artificial and fairly simple.' ¹ The letter-books of the fifteenth century could be all these, but the prevailing tendency in England during the early part of the period is towards the recondite and the precious, or towards an impressive rotundity. Not till the later part of the century was the Ciceronian *concinnitas* learned at all fully, and even then it was only very partially found. In the early sixteenth century Bishop Booth of Hereford gave his Cathedral registry a formulary, now Ashmole MS. No. 789, partly composed of letters passing between England and Rome during the pontificate of Martin V and the early years of Eugenius IV, and of diplomatic correspondence of the first half of the fifteenth century. In all these *exempla* there is practically nothing that owes its form and vocabulary to the new classical scholarship. It is a purely medieval, a characteristically late medieval, letter-book.

It may be interesting to observe the equipment in this respect of Exeter during the rule of Bishop Edmund Lacy (1420-58). One of Lacy's registrars, William Elyot, rector of Blackawton, in the diocese of Exeter, and later Archdeacon of Barnstaple, bought from the executors of his predecessor in the living, John Stevens, canon of Exeter, a large formulary, which is now All Souls College MS. 182.² Stevens had come in 1423 to Blackawton from the Battle living of Hawkhurst in the diocese of Canterbury by exchange with John Birkhede or Brekehede,³ who was to be one of Archbishop Chichele's closest helpers in the foundation of All Souls College and ended his life as a canon of Chichester.⁴ Elyot, when he died, left the volume to the College of which he had been a Fellow.⁵ It is of some

¹ C. Foligno, *Latin Thought in the Middle Ages*, p. 108.

² The donation is given on fo. 190. Cf. H. O. Coxe Catalogue. The patrons of Blacklawton were the prior and convent of Plympton.

³ *Reg. Edmund. Lacy*, ed. Hingeston-Randolph, p. 58.

⁴ See C. T. Martin, *Catalogue of the Archives of All Souls College*, *passim*. In the All Souls Building Accounts Birkhede, who was steward of the Archbishop's household, figures as paying various sums to the clerk of the works, John Druell. Cf. my pamphlet (printed for the College), *The Archives of All Souls College*.

⁵ It was appropriate that Elyot should purchase the book, for not only would the letters be of use, but also it had belonged to the friend of his own warden,

importance, for apart from the historical value of its contents it is deliberately a composition book, both in Latin and French. The first or Latin section of the book as far as fo. 189 contains a great number of Pecham's letters and injunctions, with additional material,¹ about which more presently. Then follows a long French series, which includes a group of parliamentary petitions and a long run of diplomatic and semi-official correspondence, upon which Professor Edmund Curtis drew extensively for his work on Richard II in Ireland;² and finally there are several treatises of instruction in French, the subject of some notice by scholars abroad,³ one by Walter of Bibbesworth, another a 'Donat françois,' by John Barton, scholar of Paris, 'brought up in all ways in the county of Chester.'⁴ Mr.

Roger Keys. In his will John Stevens left Warden Keys (canon of Exeter 1436, Archdeacon of Barnstaple in 1450 and Precentor about 1460), two books, now in the Bodleian Library (MS. Bodl. 315): Richard Rolle of Hampole on Job, and Grosseteste, *De oculo morali*, both bound up in a single volume with the *Policraticus* and the *Metalogicus* of John of Salisbury. (The will is given by Miss E. Lega-Weekes, *Topography of Exeter Cathedral Close*, p. 71.) The close connection of Roger Keys with Exeter is also probably to be seen, as Mrs. Rose-Troup kindly suggests to me, in the appearance of the local Devon saint, St. Sidwell, in a window of the ante-chapel in All Souls College, where Keys, before he became warden, was supervisor of the works (25 Sept., 1441 to 31, Dec. 1443, All Souls Coll. Archives, Building Accounts, fo. 72 f.). The saint also occurs in a window in Eton College Chapel, where Keys was master of the works from the Purification, 1448, to Michaelmas, 1450 (cf. Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist. of the University of Cambridge*, i, 396). In 1437 an Act of Parliament had confirmed the Dean and Chapter of Exeter in their rights to the Fee of St. Sidwell, just outside the Eastgate of Exeter (Hooker, *History of Exeter*, ed. Harte, p. 174). Roger Keys wrote an approbation of Bishop Lacy's office of St. Raphael in 1444.

¹ See the description in C. T. Martin, *Registrum Epistolarum Johannis Pechham* (Rolls Ser.), i, xlv-lviii.

² 'Unpublished letters from Richard II in Ireland, 1394-95,' *Proc. Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxxvii, Section C, No. 14 (Dublin, 1927); and *Richard II in Ireland and the Submissions of the Irish Chiefs* (Oxford, 1927).

³ E. Stengl, 'Die ältesten Anleitungsschriften zur Erlernung der Französischen Sprache und Literatur,' *Zeitschrift für Neufranzösische Sprache und Literatur*, i, i. (1879); J. Morawski, *Les Diz et Proverbes des Sages* (Univ. Paris, Bibl. de la Faculté des Lettres, 2^e série, 1924, which erroneously dates Walter of Bibbesworth's treatise 'end of the fifteenth century'); for the Walter of Bibbesworth section, cf. P. Meyer in *Romania*, t. XIII, 500; he has printed the first eighty-six verses in *Recueil d'anciens textes*, Paris, 1877, p. 360.

⁴ Is this John Barton, 'medicus,' the author of the *confutatio Lollardorum* in All Souls MS. 42?

H. G. Richardson has given his opinion that the nucleus of the epistolary collections was formed by Roger Walden, secretary to Richard II, later treasurer and ultimately Archbishop of Canterbury (deprived in 1399), and that the collection was added to by some one attached to Archbishop Arundel and possibly his successors. That some one seems also to have been in close touch with Bishop Guy Mone. Whoever he was, he has included a number of important letters in French from various high personages, including Prince Henry of Monmouth while he was guarding the Welsh marches from hostile incursion. For our purpose, however, it is the Latin section which is of chief interest, though it is difficult to say whether or not it was formed by the collector of the French epistles. The hand is of the early fifteenth century, and it is consequently the more interesting to find the compiler going back to Pecham for his models. Among the Archbishop's letters he has inserted a number of a less responsible kind, students' letters that form a little commentary both on his own taste and on that of his contemporaries. In one a student at Oxford recommends a younger friend to study rhetoric, but to be careful in its use :

These and similar words I write to you, my friend, that you may the more fervently delight in the art of rhetoric which, by happy communication of itself, generalises the blessings of peace with remarkable sweetness, refreshing the spirit of its lover. Its abuses, which surpass the sand of the seashore, affect the majority of men, as you know well ; a few, however, lead even modern rhetoricians astray and deceive the professors of that art with their cloudiness (*nebulositate*). Avoid obscure words which weaken the senses of the hearers, and use terms easily understood by the human intelligence ; for these hold the attention of readers by their attractiveness, and a friend can thus listen to your words and your solicitations are the more readily understood. Take care, secondly, that your exhortations and those preliminaries which we call 'never-ending' do not proceed eternally in a circle and lead to no conclusion. Why give a picture of the heavens and complain that you are in an ill plight ? Why begin with a description of the planets before lamenting your unhappy circumstances ? And if you are asking a friend for money, what right have you to begin with the Incarnation of the Word ?¹

¹ All Souls Coll. MS. 182, fo. 73. The third piece of advice is worth quoting : 'Cave tercio ne Scripture summas vel historias literales, quibus sententiam decreueris perorare, ad materiam applices sub sensu mistico.'

This gentle castigation of modern rhetoric 'written at Oxford' is not dated, but may well be of the late fourteenth century. Of an earlier period is the elaborate fooling of a group of Oxford letters, in one of which 'the glory in the highest revealed by divine inspiration' announces the election by the students in their drinking-place at an extraordinary hour, 'as the custom is,' of Robert Grosseteste, 'knight in scholastic arms' as king of Christmas.¹ In another, dated 'in the luminous air above Bethlehem,' Discretion addresses the king and informs him that while in the consistory of wisdom she was legislating for humanity, she decided to stop the strife between lascivious Happiness and Religion (*clerimonia*), a virgin attended by the seven liberal arts, who complained that Happiness was trying, *titillatoria voluptate*, to undermine the morals of the scholars. Six of the 'liberal sciences' were on the side of Clerimony, but music, the seventh, varied between one side and the other. Discretion observes that she decided the strife by decreeing that, just as the face of the heavens changes with the passage of the months and stars give place to other stars, so at certain seasons, notably Candlemas, Happiness must give place to Clerimony; 'et ideo uolumus,' she sums up very pompously, 'ut iocunditatis et clerimonie talis fiat sacrosancta commixtio ut et clerimonia sit iocunda et iocunditas studiosa.'² A second address to the Christmas king from a deity described as 'transetherius pater patrum et tocius ecclesiastice monarchie pontifex et minister' is dated 'on the top of Mount Cancer,' 'pontificatus nostri anno non fluxibili set eterno.'³ It is refreshing to find these tokens of the students merry England amid the sober models of Pecham, and more pleasant still to think of Edmund Lacy's registrar reading and perhaps imitating them when he was off duty. But the insertions are not all lighthearted: there is a letter of Sigismund to Henry V after the death of Clarence at Baugé in 1421⁴ and one from the Archbishop of Bordeaux to Henry VI during the early years of the minority.⁵ The first of these is in the hand that copied

¹ All Souls Coll. MS. 182, fo. 94. For the similar ceremony of electing a King of the Beans, or a Rex Collegii, at Merton, cf. *Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis*, ed. Salter (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), pp. xviii-xix.

² All Souls Coll. MS. 182, fo. 92.

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 92 v.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 113.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fo. 160.

the Pecham letters and is not an interpolation. I cannot help suspecting that this section of the manuscript was done by some one in close connection with Archbishop Chichele, who had access both to the Archiepiscopal registers as well as to recent diplomatic correspondence; by a man of conservative mind, who was prepared to lighten the collection with examples that made more appeal to modern taste. The contrast between the ecclesiastical character of the Latin section and the secular and governmental nature of the French is worth noting. One belongs to *clerus*, the other to *militia*.

The second Exeter book belonged to Edmund Lacy himself. His executors gave it to the Cathedral, 'to be chained in the Great Library there.' Whether it ever reached its destination seems uncertain; it is now the first section of Bodleian MS. 859,¹ a composite volume containing the Distinctions of Bromyard² and some collections of sermons, with an attractive copy of Archbishop Pecham's Commentary on the Fourth Book of the Sentences at the end. The first forty-two leaves contain the collection of letters made by Gilbert Stone, canon of Wells, who was successively registrar to Robert Weyville, Bishop of Salisbury (in his later days), Ralph Erghum, who followed him in that see and was translated to Bath and Wells, and then to Erghum's successor, the celebrated Richard Clifford, who was moved to Worcester and thence to London. Stone was faithful to each master, for Erghum took him from Salisbury to Wells, where he occupied one of the canon's houses,³ and Clifford brought him from Wells to Worcester. He is described in 1398 as 'clerk of the diocese of Lichfield, notary,'⁴ and to judge by his letters to the prior and convent of that place, Stone was cer-

¹ Summary Cat. 2722.

² Fo. 60. Also 'given' to the cathedral, though like Stone's letters, it is uncertain when it was ever chained in the library there. Between Stone and Bromyard a theological glossary has been inserted (fos. 44-58), perhaps bound up by the chapter with the two volumes of Lacy's bequest.

³ *Cal. Papal Lett.*, v, 315: "in the canon's house hard by the street known as 'Terre Lane.'" He held the prebend of Wedmore Secunda. In 1400 he acted as a commissary for Archbishop Arundel upon his visitation of Bath and Wells diocese *sede vacante* (p. 362).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

tainly his home.¹ The metrical reflections of a scribe at the end² show that the letter-book in Bodley is a copy from the original which was sent, along with a dedicatory epistle, to Gilbert's friend and former fellow-student at Oxford, John Langrysh, Prior of the Charterhouse of Witham,³ whom he addresses in terms of admiration as a great exponent of composition. This connexion with Langrysh suggests that our Stone may be identical with the Carthusian who wrote the metrical account of Richard Fleming, printed by Mr. Salter in *Snappe's Formula*.⁴ The earlier letters can be dated shortly before 1381, and the latest not long before Robert Hallum's promotion to the episcopate,⁵ probably in 1406, when he was at the Roman Curia.

The volume which he sends Langrysh contains mostly, but not entirely, his own letters. He inserts as a delicate compliment several examples by the Carthusian himself, one a very beautiful piece of writing addressed to a brother of the Charterhouse at Hull who had besought him for release from the duties of acting as proctor for the convent,⁶ and another an exhortation to dovelike simplicity—'simplicitatis columbine redolens suauitas'—sent to the House in London.⁷ There are quite a number by Richard II addressed to the Papacy (Boniface IX and Innocent VII), and one suspects that Stone may have had something to do with their redaction;⁸ for the heading makes it clear that

¹ MS. Bodl. 859, fos. 1 v., 3.

² *Ibid.*, fo. 42.

³ See E. M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, pp. 133-47; for the library, pp. 316-22.

⁴ Pp. 138-144.

⁵ Fo. 41 v. 'Gaudet R. Clyfford Wygorn Episcopus de prosperitate magistri Roberti Hallum commorantis in Curia Romana, affectans continuationem beneuolencie sue, etc.' The last dated letter is 12 Jan., 1406. *Ibid.*

⁶ The reason being the desire to devote himself to contemplation. Langrysh replies: 'Quanto enim fervencius diligimus, tanto perfectius contemplamur.' True obedience is 'the stable foundation and the lively origin and root of perfect contemplation.' *Ibid.*, fo. 6.

⁷ Fo. 5 v.

⁸ E.g., three on behalf of Bishop John Waltham of Salisbury supporting his claim to visit the Chapter, fos. 15 v, 16, 16 v and 17; to others at Rome about the same suit, fo. 17, 17 v; to Boniface IX against Cardinal Adam Easton, fo. 24 v, 25; a second complaint of similar nature, fo. 25 v. These letters will be noted in M. E. Pevroy's forthcoming volume, *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II.*

they were written by him 'nomine dictorum dominorum et aliorum amicorum suorum et eciam nomine suo proprio.' There is one provincial constitution enjoining prayers for the souls of deceased bishops drawn up by the command of the Archbishop : ¹ the last entry of all. Stone is very modest about the style of his writing. He reproaches himself for his leisureliness, his lack of systematic study while a young man and still more in advanced age, and asks Langrysh to correct, and absolve him from, any faults of poor composition (*sermo incompositus*). He confesses that he attaches no importance whatever to complaints made by clever young men of more voluble eloquence who presume, in the ingenuity of their literary skill (*curiositate dictaminum*), to say

Ecce quomodo sue innitens prudencie compilator merus iste, papirum denigrans frustra, in vanum laboraverat ydiota, dum vento glorie volatilis intumescens talia nullius efficacie affatoria in unum memoriale pomposum satis inutiliter collegit, affectans preconiis varie laudis attolli, qui in iota minimo nequaquam meruit commendari.²

A diverting parody of the new pompous style. But it must be admitted that Stone can do as much himself on occasion. Let us take the beginning of the letter which he wrote for Ralph Erghum condemning the murderers of Archbishop Sudbury in 1381 : it illustrates particularly well his use of the double epithet and the climax of verbs :

Vorax et horribilis impie rapacitatis auditas inaudita, heu modernis temporibus sceleratius inualescens, dum oues pinguioris dominici gregis e[ff]urit, ipsomet pastorem morsibus funestis dilacerat, deuorat et consumit.³

The unconscious humour of 'the Lord's fatter flock' (an adaptation of a passage in Ezekiel) is worth noting. His best effort was written for Ralph Erghum, while at Salisbury, to the Bishop of Lincoln urging him to take steps 'against those committing idolatry at the new well near Bustlesham' (Bisham). Certain persons, 'blinded by the phantasy of diabolical deceit' had been worshipping the well and paying profane and heathen devotion to a bird's nest hard by. The passage had best be left in its original form :

¹ Fo. 41 v.

² Fo. 1.

³ Fo. 2.

Et pro eo quod, ut dicitur, in eodem fonte, iuxta quem in quodam arbore insuper nidificans quedam auis manibus hominum in nido suo tacta illorum, ut asseritur, non recessit, ymmo quia domestica et satis domita in nido reposita pacifice requievit, lippus quidam vir fantasticus, suos nuper lauans oculos defluentes estu feruido autumpnali adustos et potu superfluo plus solito humectantes, oculorum suorum lippitudines frigore aquatico naturaliter operante refrigescere senciebat, hoc nunc reputat pro miraculo multorum erronee credentium ceca leuitas scandalizans; unde modernis temporibus ad fontem eundem tanquam ad locum sanctissimum multi confluunt, et ibidem offerunt et adorant. Quorum quidam in nidum dicte auis, vile gazofilacium suis et pullorum suorum stercorebus maculatum, es iactant, et nephanda manu prophanas oblationes turpissima deuotione reponunt, in sancte matris ecclesie scandalum, fidei catholice preiudicium, perniciosum exemplum plurimorum, ac ipsorum sic ut premittitur ydolatrantium grave periculum animarum.¹

The bishop had the well sealed up, but it was no good: the wretched people of Wycombe and Marlow opened it again, and in spite of Erghum's warnings and express prohibitions continued their worship; he therefore requests his brother of Lincoln to have the penalties incurred by such conduct duly proclaimed in the churches. An interesting feature of Stone's letters are the number addressed on behalf of his masters, especially the supple politician, Richard Clifford,² to the Holy See.³ They point to the need for every bishop to have a registrar who could impetrate in the best curial style, and solicit whatever cardinal was his special protector. There was a good practical reason behind these local works on the *dictamen*. The favour of a friendly cardinal was half the battle, and it was advisable to approach him in the most ingratiating manner. A suit in the Court of Rome was prepared and reinforced by an

¹ Fo. 3. The *quia* in l. 3 is evidently a mistake of the copyist, and should be omitted. For similar practices at St. Edmund's Well in Oxford, 1291-1304, see A. B. Emden, *An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times*, pp. 86-7. I owe this reference to Mr. W. A. Pantin.

² Clifford had started life in the king's chapel and had passed via the Great Wardrobe, to the Keepership of the Privy Seal; cf. T. F. Tout, *Chapters in Medieval Administrative History*, iv, 382, and the index, s.v. *Clifford, Richard* (vi, 205).

³ E.g., fos. 24 v., 33 v., 41.

immense amount of extra-judicial solicitation. Happy was the prelate who had a Gilbert Stone to do it for him.

Better examples of composition-books made in the fifteenth century could, no doubt, be found elsewhere. The study of the letter-book is still in its early days, and the more work we can do upon it, the more light are we likely to gain from many different quarters upon the later Middle Ages in England.

THE PROVISIONS OF OXFORD: A FORGOTTEN DOCUMENT AND SOME COMMENTS.¹

BY H. G. RICHARDSON, M.A., B.Sc.; AND G. O. SAYLES,
M.A., D.LITT.

I.

THE "Provisions of Oxford" are known from two texts—that in the *Annals of Burton*, which was published by Fulman in 1684,² and again by H. R. Luard in the *Rolls Series*,³ familiar from its inclusion in Stubbs' *Select Charters*,⁴ and another, slightly varying, text in Tiberius B. IV, which, although it is mentioned in the *Catalogue of the Cottonian Manuscripts*,⁵ has only recently attracted attention.⁶ Yet another text existed in the seventeenth century, but this appears to have survived only in the abstract which is printed below.

As its heading shows, this abstract was made by John Selden from a roll in the possession of Sir Edward Coke. Coke seems to have called his document a parliament roll, but he bestowed

¹ This paper was written before Professor R. F. Treharne's detailed monograph on *The Baronial Plan of Reform* (Manchester University Press, 1932) appeared. We have since availed ourselves of this, and of some private suggestions kindly offered to us by Dr. Treharne, to make a few modifications and corrections. On some points we have preferred our own conclusions.

² *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veteres*, pp. 412-16.

³ *Annales Monastici*, i. pp. 446-53.

⁴ Ninth edition, pp. 378-84.

⁵ Tiberius B. IV, fos. 213-14. In Thomas Smith's *Catalogue of 1696* it is mentioned at p. 22, col. 2: "Provisiones Oxonii tempore Regis Henrici III," and in the copy in the Students' Room at the British Museum is a manuscript note "Ex hoc corrigi possunt Provisiones Editae in Annal. Burton, 412." It is again mentioned in the *Catalogue of 1802*, p. 35, and Index, s.v. *Oxford*.

⁶ Professor E. F. Jacob, in *History*, ix. 191, *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, viii. 71, and *English Historical Review*, xli. 560; Professor F. M. Powicke, "The Baronial Council" in *Essays in Mediæval History presented to T. F. Tout*, p. 121.

that name rather indiscriminately,¹ and we ought not to imagine that he was warranted by any contemporary title or endorsement. Nothing that can properly be called a parliament roll has survived from the reign of Henry III and, so far as we know, no such roll was written until the early years of Edward I. Our first notice of this particular roll is in the second edition of Selden's *Titles of Honor*, published in 1631;² it is not mentioned in the first edition of 1614.³ It was apparently sought, but without success, by Sir Joseph Ayloffe about the middle of the eighteenth century.⁴ It is not now at Holkham with such of Coke's legal manuscripts as are to be found there.⁵ Both roll and abstract may have perished in the disastrous fire which consumed eight chests full of Selden's manuscripts in January, 1680,⁶ for even the abstract we know only from copies among the collections of transcripts made by William Petyt⁷ and John Anstis.⁸

¹ Among the manuscripts at Holkham (no. 677, fo. 402) is a transcript "Ex fragmento rot. Parl. de anno 51 Hen. III" (*Historical Manuscripts Commission, Ninth Report*, App. II, p. 366). This document Coke cites as a parliament roll in his *Institutes*, iii. c. 70 (ed. 1644, p. 151). But the record was evidently similar to that printed in Cole's *Documents Illustrative of English History*, pp. 354 ff.

² P. 722: "For all Parliament Rols of the time of Henrie the third are lost, excepted one of some passages in the Parliament of Oxford, in the 44 (*sic*) of the same King which I have heretofore used by the fauor of an honorable person that communicated it."

³ The two editions are, of course, very unlike; but any reference to this roll would presumably have appeared at pp. 279-81 of the first edition.

⁴ *Calendars of the Ancient Charters* (1774), Introduction, p. vii.

⁵ We owe the following note to the kindness of Mr. C. W. James, the present librarian. "We have (at Holkham) a Catalogue of the Chief Justice's Library drawn up by a clerk, but signed in various places by Edw. Coke. Among his 'Legal MSS' there is an entry of 'The roll of parliament an^o 42 Hen. 3 of some called insanum parliamentum.' This, I take it, is the roll he lent to Selden. But it has disappeared, together with the greater number of the Legal MSS. mentioned in the Catalogue. From internal evidence, I date this Catalogue 1630."

⁶ For the fire, see J. Ayloffe, *Antient and Present State of the University of Oxford* (1714), i. 462; W. D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian* (1890), p. 121. Neither the original abstract nor any copy of it is to be found among Selden's collections at Lincoln's Inn.

⁷ Inner Temple, Petyt MSS. no. 533/6, fos. 53-6.

⁸ Stowe MSS. no. 1029, fo. 170v^o-176. It should be remembered that Selden died in 1654, and that Petyt lived between 1636 and 1707, and Anstis between 1669 and 1745. Selden's original abstract was presumably made in 1630 or earlier.

For convenience of reference we have numbered each item in the abstract separately, and in this way we get thirty-three paragraphs. The first twenty-two correspond to the "Provisions of Oxford" as they appear in what we may call the Burton-Tiberius text, but the order is different, and there are both omissions and additions. The omissions can best be indicated by giving the paragraphs in the order in which they appear in the Burton-Tiberius text and noting the gaps:—

<i>Burton-Tiberius Text.</i>	<i>Coke Roll.</i>
Opening section.	Paragraph no. 4.
<i>Electi ex parte domini Regis.</i>	Omitted.
<i>Electi ex parte comitum et baronum.</i>	Omitted.
Oath of Commune.	Paragraph no. 22.
Oath to Twenty-Four.	Possibly paragraph no. 12.
Articles from the oath of the Justiciar to the names of the twenty-four to treat of the aid for the king.	Paragraphs nos. 16, 17, 15, 19, 20, 21, 18.
Articles from that providing for the reform of the Church to that pro- viding for the reform of the Jewry.	Omitted.
<i>Thence to the end.</i>	Paragraphs nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 14.

Four paragraphs (nos. 2, 7, 11, 13) and possibly a fifth (no. 12) are not to be found in the Burton-Tiberius text. Paragraph no. 2 regarding prise and paragraph no. 7 regarding purchases (of land) by religious houses are related respectively to articles 22 and 10 of the "Petition of the Barons."¹ Paragraph no. 11 is a note of the delay until 8 August demanded by Henry of Almaine so that he could obtain instructions from his father, the king of the Romans, before he took the oath of the Commune.² Paragraph no. 12 is a note that the king's councillors—presumably the Fifteen—took their oath, the terms of which have not come down to us, unless indeed, as is quite probable, it is the oath which the Burton Annalist calls "*le serment a vint e quatre*."³

¹ *Annales Monastici*, i. 440, 442; *Select Charters* (ninth edition), pp. 375-6. Hitherto the only articles in the Petition which could be connected with the "Provisions" were 4 and 5, relating to castles: cf. Treharne, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

² Cf. *Annales Monastici*, i. 444; Mat. Paris, *Chron. Maiora*, v. 697.

³ This oath appears from the opening words to be identical with that which the earl of Gloucester called "*le comun serement ke fet avuns as Baruns*" (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Report on Manuscripts of Lord Middleton*, p. 69). In Tiberius B. IV, the oath is headed: "*Cest le serment de xxiiij.*"

The next entry (no. 13) is the letter of 4 August, which we know from a copy on the Patent Roll,¹ announcing the adherence of the king and Edward to the constitution agreed to at Oxford. Beyond these omissions and additions and the transposition of the order in which the different items are given, the most striking differences are in the lists of the council, of the Twelve, and of the Twenty-four to treat of the aid for the king. Among the council the Coke Roll includes Philip Basset in place of John fitz Geoffrey, and, among the Twelve, William Bardolf in place of the bishop of London. Among the Twenty-four to treat of the aid the Coke Roll, like Tiberius B. IV, includes William of Powick and John of Oare ;² but the names of those they replaced are left in the list, and we have therefore twenty-six names in all. The two omissions should presumably be John Grey, whose name is omitted in Tiberius B. IV,³ and John fitz Geoffrey, who died in November, 1258.⁴ The name of the bishop of London, who died in May, 1259, is retained in the Coke Roll, presumably by an oversight.⁵ Of these lists we have more to say later.

Turning now to paragraphs nos. 23-33, we may first note that the documents underlying four are already known. These are a writ dated 20 October, 1258 (no. 23) to be found both on the Patent Roll and in the Burton Annals,⁶ a letter (no. 24) from the council (of the Fifteen) and the twelve representatives of the Commune which is embodied in a later document on the Patent Roll,⁷ a writ (no. 25) to be found in slightly differing versions in the Burton Annals and among Matthew Paris's *Additamenta*,⁸

¹ *Letters of Henry III* (Rolls Series), ii. 129.

² Tiberius B. IV, fo. 213v°. Awre or, as it is usually written, Aure is undoubtedly Oare, Somerset.

³ The name of John fitz Geoffrey is, however, erroneously retained.

⁴ He was alive on 8 November (*Cal. Patent Rolls* (1258-66), pp. 2, 5), but dead by 27 November (*ibid.* (1247-58), p. 666). Philip Basset and the bishop of London are mentioned as his executors on 29 November (*Close Roll*, 43 Henry III (C. 54/74), m. 14). We may note that *Close Rolls*, nos. 72, 73 and 74, are now available in print, but our references are adequate to identifying the entries cited and we have not therefore added references to the printed volume (*Close Rolls*, 1256-59).

⁵ See below, p. 305.

⁶ *Letters of Henry III*, ii. 130-2 ; *Annales Monastici*, i. 453-5.

⁷ *Foedera*, i. 381.

⁸ *Annales Monastici*, i. 456-7 ; M. Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, vi. 396-7.

and a list (no. 28), which is entered on the Patent Roll,¹ of the four knights in each county appointed to hold inquisitions into complaints of oppression. The writ to the sheriff mentioned in paragraph no. 27 may be one of 28 March, 1259, directing that there be read in the county court and elsewhere the long letter of that date explaining the reforms agreed to by the king and the barons,² but the abstract is too summary to make this identification certain. The rest of the entries by reason of their novelty are of more interest.

Paragraph no. 26 appears to establish the date (10 July, 1258), hitherto unknown, of Edward's formal submission, and thus enables us to make a small but not unimportant correction in what has been understood to have been the order of events. The fact of Edward's submission is mentioned, without date, in the letter from "someone at court" embodied in the Burton Annals,³ but the wording suggests that this was after the departure of the Poitevins from Dover on 14 July, and has misled recent writers.⁴

Paragraph no. 29 is certainly of considerable importance. It is a memorandum that the justices and other learned men—that is, the official councillors of the king—are to consider the amendment of the laws before the assembly of the next parliament: they are to meet a week earlier, when apparently they are to consult with the Fifteen. This procedure seems evidently designed to secure adequate consideration for those articles in

¹ *Cal. Patent Rolls (1247-58)*, pp. 645-9.

² *Foedera*, i. 381: the actual terms of the writ are not entered on the Patent Roll.

³ *Annales Monastici*, i. 445.

⁴ Cf. Ramsay, *Dawn of the Constitution*, p. 175; Tout, *Political History of England, 1216-1377*, pp. 102-3; F. M. Powicke, *Baronial Council*, pp. 122-3. It is, however, evident from the letter entered on the Patent Roll, under date 12 July, addressed by Edward to all persons in Gascony, that he had by then made his submission (*Cal. Patent Rolls (1247-58)*, p. 664; *Foedera*, i. 374). It may be noted that up to 11 July warning letters were being sent against acting on Edward's instructions (*Cal. Patent Rolls (1247-58)*, pp. 639-41; *Foedera*, i. 374). Dr. Treharne (*op. cit.*, p. 78) follows Matthew Paris (*Chronica Maiora*, v. p. 702) in giving the date of embarkation as 18 July; but there is no indication of such a delay in official documents and Fitz Thedmar states categorically that all, including William of St. Ermine and other followers of the king's brothers, crossed the Channel on the appointed Sunday or the following day (*Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, p. 38).

the "Petition of the Barons" which could not be dealt with in the brief time available at the parliament of Oxford, and it appears to have resulted in the *Providencia baronum Anglie*, whatever date we may ascribe to that document.¹ The point, however, upon which we would lay stress is that we have here additional proof that the parliaments constituted according to the "Provisions of Oxford" were not, as has been suggested, "in fact composed solely of the king, the Council of Fifteen and that of the Twelve."² The justices and the principal officers of the chancery and the exchequer had their place in the parliaments of Henry III as they had in the parliaments of Edward I, nor can we imagine that the justiciar would be absent.³ The appointment of fifteen magnates as permanent members of the council, with the addition of twelve others at the periodical parliaments, was intended to provide an elaborate means of control; but these devices implied the continuance of the normal judicial and administrative institutions of the country. Nor was there any suspension of the recognised course of parliamentary business, and in dealing with difficult questions referred to parliament the assistance of the judges and the king's ministers must obviously have been required.⁴

The point is of such fundamental importance in the history of parliament and the misconceptions so serious and so general that we need no excuse for going into some detail. Our conten-

¹ For the text see *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, viii. 366-9. Professor Jacob discusses the date at pp. 82 ff. and comes to the conclusion (p. 72) that the date is March, 1259, as Professor Powicke has also done (*Baronial Council*, p. 126, n. 4). But it is not easy to suppose that "Anno . . . xl. secundo" in the heading to the Cambridge text is a scribal error for "Anno . . . xl. tercio." The truncated St. Alban's text which bears the date "mense Marcii anno Regni Regis Henrici xliiii" may represent a later recension, the opening paragraphs of which were practically identical with the first draft.

² Bémont, *Simon de Montfort* (1930), p. 170. Cf. Powicke, *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 127: "by the parliament, that is by the council and the committee of Twelve." See also Stubbs, *Constitutional History* (IV. ed.), ii. pp. 78-82; Ramsay, *Dawn of the Constitution*, pp. 180-1; H. W. C. Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins*, pp. 450-1.

³ It should be unnecessary to point out that High Bigod, justiciar 1258-60, was a member neither of the Fifteen nor of the Twelve; see below, p. 304.

⁴ For some examples of the procedure under Henry III, see *Trans. Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, v. 56-8, 60-2, xi. 154.

tion is that the king's ministers continued to be members of his council, and as such were not only consulted from day to day, but attended parliament as a matter of course. A separate point is that the parliaments of 1258-61 were attended by many others besides the Fifteen, the Twelve and the king's ministers.

We are definitely told that in 1257 the barons of the exchequer and the judges took the councillor's oath,¹ and there is ample evidence, apart from this, that they were in fact members of the council.² Doubtless after June, 1258, the ministers tended to be overshadowed by the magnates, but they did not cease to be members of the council. Three examples will suffice, all of which we take from the Close Roll of 44 Henry III. The first entry we select shows conclusively that the treasurer was still a member of the council, as he had been in 1255 :—³

Prouisum fuit die sabbati proxima post festum sancti Edwardi martiris (20 November 1259) coram iusticiario capitali, episcopo Wigornensi, Philippo Basset, I. de Crekhale thesaurario regis et aliis de consilio regis . . .⁴

Incidentally, we may remark that the *alii de consilio regis* must have been members of lower status than the treasurer. Let us next compare two entries dated 4 September, 1260, at Clarendon. The first mentions that action has been taken “de consilio magnatum cum Rege tunc existencium.” The other entry tells us who were the magnates then with the king who were acting as his councillors in attendance, for it is warranted “per ipsum regem, comitem Glouc’ et I. Mansell’, Robertum Wallerand et W. de Merton’ tunc existentibus (*sic*) apud Clarindon.” This is sufficiently conclusive evidence that at least one senior chancery clerk, Walter of Merton, was included among the council.⁵ The last example is a note of warranty, under date 28 October, 1260, “per Henricum de Bathonia et Henricum de Bratton’ et per totum consilium,” which certainly seems to imply the presence of the two judges at the council.⁶

Having established the fact of the presence of the king's

¹ *Annales Monastici*, i. 395-6.

² See, especially for the judges, *Foedera*, i. 332, and the notes of warranty in *Cal. Patent Rolls (1247-58)*, pp. 415, 431, 462, 626.

³ *Foedera*, loc. cit.

⁴ C. 54/75, m. 19d.

⁵ C. 54/75, m. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, m. 1.

ministers in the council, we may turn to the evidence for their presence at parliament. A London chronicler informs us that the barons of the exchequer were present at the Michaelmas parliament at Windsor in 1254.¹ They did not cease to attend in consequence of the constitutional changes introduced in 1258. When, for example, in 1259, a case is adjourned to parliament in order that the rolls of the exchequer might be consulted, we can be sure that the barons of the exchequer are again expected to be present.² Again, it is arranged that a dispute between a Jew and his debtor shall be argued before the barons of the exchequer and the justices of the Jews at the Candlemas parliament of 1261.³ While we should be justified in deducing from this evidence that not only the barons of the exchequer but the justices and other important ministers must normally have been present at parliament, the Coke Roll fortunately provides positive evidence that this was so.

Who else were present? Now we do not doubt that the device of the committee of Twelve was intended to secure adequate representation at the parliaments of the prelates and magnates who were not of the council in the sense that the Fifteen were, while at the same time, by placing a special duty on the Twelve, the burden which frequent attendance might have been felt to be by many prelates and barons would be removed. But this did not mean that more than the Twelve would not come nor that a special summons might not be sent on special occasions. The period during which the country was governed according to the constitution agreed to at Oxford may be regarded as extending from the Michaelmas parliament of 1258 to the Candlemas parliament of 1261.⁴ Including these two meetings, eight parliaments in all appear to have been held in a period of a little under two and a half years.⁵ For four of these parliaments we have

¹ *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* (Camden Soc.), p. 20.

² *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, Fourth Series, v. 56, 61.

³ Close Roll, 45 Henry III (C. 54/77), m. 17.

⁴ Below, p. 315.

⁵ *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, Fourth Series, xi. 172-3. There was possibly a ninth parliament at midsummer, 1259, but the evidence is not very satisfactory (*Flores Historiarum*, II, pp. 428-9; cf. Treharne, *op. cit.*, p. 141).

direct evidence that a large assembly was summoned. The first of them was attended by a large number of knights from the counties, although it is doubtful whether, as a body, they took any real part in the proceedings.¹ The Michaelmas parliament of 1259 was attended by a large number of prelates and magnates as well as an *innumerabilis populus*, who presumably came to watch.² To the Easter parliament of 1260 more than a hundred prelates and barons were summoned by special writ,³ and we know that, in the event, others attended, among them being Edward, Simon de Montfort and the king of the Romans.⁴ Finally, to the Candlemas parliament of 1261 twenty-seven barons were specially summoned, only five of whom we know to have been among the Fifteen or the Twelve.⁵ Our information is so fragmentary, in particular the enrolment of writs of summons is so casual, that we cannot be at all certain of the numbers attending other parliaments in 1259 and 1260, but there are some indications that there was more than the minimum attendance. For example, there was probably a fairly large attendance at the Candlemas parliament of 1259, upon which fresh light is thrown by the following paragraphs of the Coke Roll.

Paragraph no. 30 deals with the measures of control to which Edward was subjected. It mentions the council which had been selected for him—possibly the four named in the Burton Annals as his appointed counsellors⁶—who were to be bound by a like oath to that taken by the Fifteen; Edward's chancellor was to seal nothing but that to which his council agreed. This pro-

¹ See the writs on the Patent Roll (*Calendar (1247-58)*, pp. 645-9), and Close Roll (*English Historical Review*, xlv, 631-2).

² *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, p. 42. It was referred to a year or so later as "generale parlamentum" (*Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, Fourth Series, v. 58-9). Cf. Trearne, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-3.

³ *Lords' Reports*, iii. 19-20 (from Close Roll); *Cal. Patent Rolls (1258-66)*, p. 123; see also Powicke, *Baronial Council*, pp. 133-4, where the documents from the Close Roll, except the list of names, are again printed.

⁴ *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, pp. 44-5. This account is substantially confirmed by letters of 10 April from the king to the justiciar and the mayor of London (C. 54/76, m. 2d).

⁵ *Lords' Reports*, iii. 23. The five are the earls of Warwick and Winchester, John Balliol, Thomas Gresley and William Bardolf: see lists below.

⁶ *Annales Monastici*, i. 445.

vision seems to be otherwise unknown and it helps to explain the agreement of 14 March, 1259, for freeing Edward.¹

Paragraphs nos. 31 and 32 add appreciably to our knowledge of the happenings in the early months of 1259. It is known, of course, that on the feast of St. Peter in Cathedra (22 February) there was a formal declaration by the council and the twelve representatives of the *Commune* of their intentions regarding reforms—a document entered higher up on the Coke Roll (paragraph no. 24). Preparatory to this declaration and on the same day there had been, it appears, a solemn compact “for the service of the king and the government of the kingdom” between the council and the *Commune*, to which the clergy became parties by a separate instrument. Simon de Montfort and the Earl of Gloucester acted on behalf of the council, the Earl of Winchester and Thomas Gresley on behalf of the *Commune*, and the bishops of Worcester and Salisbury on behalf of the clergy. Incidentally we may note that, since the bishop of Salisbury was one of the proctors of the clergy, there was pretty certainly a substantial gathering of prelates at the Candlemas parliament of 1259, at least of others than those who chanced to be among the Fifteen or the Twelve.

Paragraph no. 33 indicates the degree of humiliation to which the king was subjected. At Oxford it had been decided to reform the royal households; in practice this seems to have meant the ejection of the more dignified of the king's (and presumably also of the queen's and Edward's) menial servants.² Doubtless some of these had been guilty of abusing the king's right of prise,³ and

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm., Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton*, pp. 67-9. We may observe that it is highly probable that all those whose names are mentioned in this document attended the Candlemas parliament.

² The reform of the households of the king and queen is mentioned in both versions of the “Provisions of Oxford” and the households of the king and Edward in the letter “from someone at court” in the Burton Annals (*Annales Monastici*, i. 445). It has been doubted whether any serious attempt was made to carry this into effect (Tout, *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, i. 298-9). Certainly there seems to have been no complete purge. Though the stewards, for example, were displaced (*ibid.*), as well as the cook and the usher of the buttery, the marshal of the horse, Elias of Rochester, remained (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, ii. 1, 19; *Cal. Patent Rolls (1258-66)*, pp. 45, 54 *et passim*).

³ Cf. article no. 22 of the petition of the barons and paragraph no. 2 of the Coke Roll.

the establishments were probably upon an extravagant scale, but the blow to royal pride would not be mitigated by such considerations. In this, as in other matters, the barons provided a precedent for the Ordainers in their dealings with Edward II.¹

II.

We turn now to discuss the relation of the Coke Roll to other contemporary records.

It is but rarely in the Middle Ages that we have so many documents, as we have for the years from 1258 to 1267, to illustrate the successive stages of legislation and constitutional reform. If we had to rely solely upon official sources our information would be much more fragmentary than it is, for although at one time there must have been on the chancery files a collection of minutes, memoranda and drafts, these have long since been dissipated and destroyed, and the documents considered worthy of enrolment were few. But because there existed for a time a council dominated by a baronial oligarchy which, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say, in Professor Powicke's words "was not regarded and did not behave as an expression of the Curia Regis,"² there was need for the multiplication of documents which normally perhaps would exist only in one or two copies. In this way several private or semi-official collections of state papers were doubtless made, collections varying in content with the interest or duties of their original possessors. The most noteworthy of those that survive in any form is the one that came into the hands of the Burton annalist.³ Another collection probably found its way to St. Albans, although relatively little of it was entered in the *Liber*

¹ Cf. Conway Davies, *Baronial Opposition to Edward II*, pp. 382 ff. As soon as he could Henry, of course, removed the baronial nominees from his household: *Annales Monastici*, iv (Wykes), 129. There seems to be a reference to the household in the king's complaint in 1261 that the council have removed from him those whom he likes and has found loyal and good and who know how to manage his affairs to advantage: *English Historical Review*, xli, 567 (17).

² *Essays presented to T. F. Tout*, p. 123.

³ *Annales Monastici*, i. 439-84: other matter is interspersed.

Additamentorum.¹ Tiberius B. IV, which contains, besides the "Provisions of Oxford," a lengthy statement of the grievances of the king against the council and the council's replies, seems to imply the existence of a collection covering the period from June, 1258, to February, 1261.² The Coke Roll contained an extensive collection of documents covering less than a year from June, 1258, onwards.

We can, we think, point to evidence that these collections were made with a practical end in view, and were not merely put together as souvenirs or to gratify monastic historians. We have already drawn attention to the differences in the lists of those composing the council of Fifteen, the Twelve and the Twenty-four to treat of the aid for the king.³ These differences can only have been due to attempts to keep the lists up to date, although it would seem that an imperfect indication of the omission of a name might cause the copyist sometimes to include one or two too many: in this way we may account for the twenty-five names in Tiberius B. IV and the twenty-six names in the Coke Roll, where we require only twenty-four for the complement of the commission to treat of the aid. The differences in the lists of the council and the Twelve are of greater historical importance and merit some detailed study.

We should compare the lists supplied by the different versions of the "Provisions of Oxford" with lists entered upon the Close

¹ Cf. *Flores Historiarum*, ii. 473-4: "quarum tenor [sc. letters from the king in 1261] in fine huius libri vna cum prouisionibus Oxonie apponetur." Apart, however, from the letters between the barons and the pope (*Chronica Maiora*, vi. 400-16), the only documents in the *Liber Additamentorum* likely to have come from such a collection are the incomplete "Nova provisio Magnatum" (pp. 496, 497 n.) and the "Provisions of Westminster" (p. 512), both of which have been edited by Professor E. F. Jacob, *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, viii. 366-76. The copy of the writ of 28 July, 1258, inserted in the *Liber Additamentorum* seems to have been obtained locally, for it is taken from that addressed to the four knights appointed for Hertfordshire (*Chronica Maiora*, vi. 396-7), while the copy used by the Burton annalist looks like an official draft (*Annales Monastici*, i. 456-7).

² Tiberius B. IV, fos. 213 ff. The second document has been printed by Professor E. F. Jacob in *English Historical Review*, XLI, 564-71.

³ Above, p. 294.

Roll about the end of April, 1259,¹ and upon the Memoranda Roll of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer in the Michaelmas term, 1259.² The lists in the Burton Annals and Tiberius B. IV are identical and we have therefore four lists in all, covering a period roughly from June, 1258, to September, 1259. For convenience we set them out below, reducing each list to the order in which the names appear in the Burton Annals :—³

THE COUNCIL.

Burton.	Tiberius.	Close Roll.	Coke Roll.	L.T.R. Mem. Roll.
(1) Archb. of Canterbury	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
(2) Bishop of Worcester	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
(3) Earl of Leicester	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
(4) Earl of Gloucester	(4)	(4)	(4)	(4)
(5) Earl Marshal	(5)	(5)	(5)	(5)
(6) Peter of Savoy	(6)	(9)	(6)	(7)
(7) Earl of Aumale	(7)	(6)	(8)	(8)
(8) Earl of Warwick	(8)	(8)	(9)	(9)
(9) Earl of Hereford	(9)	(7)	(7)	(6)
(10) John Mansel	(10)	(10)	(10)	(10)
(11) John fitz Geoffrey	(11)	—	—	—
(12) Peter de Montfort	(12)	(13)	(12)	(15)
(13) Richard Grey	(13)	(12)	(13)	(14)
(14) Roger Mortimer	(14)	(11)	(14)	(11)
(15) James of Audley	(15)	(14)	(15)	(12)
Philip Basset	—	—	(11)	(13)
Hugh Bigod, <i>Justiciar</i>	—	(15)	—	—
Henry of Wingham, <i>Chancellor</i>	—	(16)	—	—

¹ Close Roll, 43 Henry III (C. 54/74), m. 12d. The lists of the Fifteen "Iurati de consilio Regis" and the Twelve "Iurati ex parte communitatis regni" are undated, but their place upon the roll indicates their date, apart from internal evidence.

² E. 368/35, m. 4, entered among the *Communia* of the Michaelmas term: the list of those "ex parte communitatis electi" are entered on the face of the roll and upon the dorse is a list headed "Isti sunt de Consilio."

³ The original order in each case is indicated by the five series of numbers which follow the sequence of the manuscripts. We cannot trace any significance in the variations in order. The close relation between the Burton-Tiberius and Coke texts is, however, evident. In the original list of the Twelve the name of Philip Basset must have been so written as to make his position uncertain: his name is, however, the only one that varies in its order. In the Coke list of the Council, Philip Basset fills the place left vacant by John fitz Geoffrey's death, but there is no other variation except that the earls of Aumale and Hereford have been reversed in order.

THE TWELVE.

Burton.	Tiberius.	Close Roll.	Coke Roll.	L.T.R. Mem. Roll.
(1) Bishop of London	(1)	(1)	—	(13)
(2) Earl of Winchester	(2)	(3)	(1)	(1)
(3) [Humphrey de Bohun]	(3)	(9)	(2)	(3)
(4) Philip Basset	(12)	(2)	(4)	(12)
(5) John Balliol	(4)	(4)	(3)	(14)
(6) John of Verdun	(5)	—	(5)	(8)
(7) John Grey	(6)	(11)	(6)	(7)
(8) Roger of Sumery	(7)	(10)	(7)	(9)
(9) Roger of Monthaut	(8)	(12)	(8)	(4)
(10) Hugh Despenser	(9)	(5)	(9)	(5)
(11) Thomas Gresley	(10)	(7)	(10)	(11)
(12) Giles of Argenton	(11)	(8)	(11)	(10)
William Bardolf	—	(6)	(12)	(6)
Earl of Oxford	—	—	—	(2)

From these lists it would seem as though the vacancy in the council caused by the death of John fitz Geoffrey in November, 1258, was not filled by the appointment of Philip Basset until six months or more had elapsed. It should be noted that, although the names of the justiciar and the chancellor are added to the Close Roll list, this does not imply that either was among the Fifteen; quite obviously their presence on the council would be a matter of right.¹ That their names are omitted from the other

¹ Another list, dated 13 October, 1259, identical with that in the Coke Roll and the Memoranda Roll, but with the addition of the name of "Hugues le Bigot, justice de Angleterre," is to be found in the ratification of the Treaty of Paris by the council (*Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, iii. 490; also, from an incorrect copy among the Carte Papers, *Foedera*, i. 390). Hugh Bigod's name appears also in what seems intended for a list of the Fifteen in the *Cronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum*, s.a. 1257-58, which, however, lacks the names of Richard Grey and John fitz Geoffrey, although it seems to date from before the death of the latter, who is subsequently mentioned. Hugh Bigod must presumably be included as justiciar (*Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, pp. 37-8). The notes of warranty on the Chancery Rolls also frequently include the justiciar by name among the members of the council: *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1247-58), p. 440, (1258-66), pp. 8, 11, 60, 61, 63 *et passim*; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, ii. 23.; Close Roll 42 Henry III (C. 54/73), mm. 5, 4, 43 Henry III (C. 54/74), mm. 14, 6, 5d, 44 Henry III (C. 54/75), mm. 19d, 14, 9, (C. 54/76), mm. 4d, 2d; Fine Roll 43 Henry III (C. 60/56), m. 10, 44 Henry III (C. 60/57), m. 11. The name of the chancellor is rarely mentioned in notes of warranty since he was assumed to be cognizant of all documents sealed (cf. Maxwell-Lyte, *Great Seal*, pp. 141 ff.); we do, however, find instructions of 16 November, 1258, to the justiciar and James le Sauvage, "prout nuper de consilio magnatum Regis ordinatum fuit," warranted "per mandatum domini H. de Wengham" (C. 54/74, m. 15).

lists signified no more than that their membership of the council was assumed. The important question was "which of the magnates was required to attend although holding no ministerial office?" ; in other words, "who constituted the Fifteen¹ " ?

It may be observed that Humphrey de Bohun appears as "Earl of Hereford" in the Burton-Tiberius list of the Twelve,² and that in both the Coke Roll and the Memoranda Roll the name of Philip Basset has been included among the Twelve, presumably by mistake, after his appointment to the Council. It may further be noted that Fulk Basset, bishop of London (against whose name the word *mortuus* has been written in the Memoranda Roll), died on 21 May, 1259,³ and that John of Verdun had already left for Ireland on 23 May when he was granted letters of protection until Christmas ;⁴ this may account for the omission of the latter from the Close Roll list, William Bardolf taking his place. We surmise that the vacancy left by the death of the bishop of London was filled by the reappointment of John of Verdun, as indicated in the Coke Roll, and that the earl of Oxford displaced Philip Basset, as the Memoranda Roll suggests.

Just as the lists of the Council and the Twelve were kept up to date, so it is probable that some attempt was made to keep up to date the list of the keepers of the king's castles. The list on the Coke Roll has not been preserved in the abstract (paragraph no. 14), and we are therefore deprived in this case of the opportunity of comparing the names with the other lists that have

¹ The expression frequently used at this time, that action was taken "de consilio procerum (or magnatum) qui sunt de consilio," or some similar phrase, appears undoubtedly to indicate that the Fifteen, or a sufficient number of them, were present. For examples of this formula, see *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*, iii. 296, 309, 318, 334 ; *Cal. Patent Rolls (1247-58)*, pp. 644, 649, 650, 654 (1258-66), pp. 1, 3, 4 *et passim* ; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, iii. 16-18, 20, 25-7, 35 ; Close Roll 42 Henry III (C. 54/73), m. 2d, 43 Henry III (C. 54/74), mm. 15, 15d, 13d, 44 Henry III (C. 54/75), mm. 8, 5, 2.

² Cf. Treharne, *op. cit.*, p. 87 n.

³ His burial is recorded on 25 May (Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, v. 747), but no chronicler appears to give the day of his death ; his obit, however, was celebrated on the 21st (Sparrow Simpson, *Documents illustrating the history of St. Paul's Cathedral*, pp. 66, 84) ; cf. *Cal. Patent Rolls (1258-66)*, p. 23 : licence to elect, 24 May.

⁴ *Ibid.*

survived. We may remark, however, that the list in Tiberius B. IV includes the name of William of Clare as keeper of Winchester Castle,¹ while the list in the Burton Annals leaves the name of the keeper blank.² We know from the Patent Roll that the castle was committed to William of Clare on 22 June, 1258, but, his death speedily following,³ it was on 4 August committed to the earl of Leicester.⁴ The conclusion seems necessary that the original of the list of keepers of castles in the Burton Annals was corrected before 4 August, 1258, while the corresponding list in Tiberius B. IV escaped correction, although the list of the commission to treat of the aid for the king in the same manuscript had been subsequently corrected, if imperfectly.⁵ The entire omission of Scarborough and Northampton Castles⁶ from the Tiberius list does not seem to have any significance; it was presumably one of the several copyist's errors to be found in that version of the "Provisions of Oxford."

Incidentally it will be observed that the heading of the list in the Coke Roll shows that it was the Twenty-four who determined to whom the castles should be allotted,⁷ a fact seemingly not specifically mentioned elsewhere. Since this action was in compliance with two articles of the petition of the barons,⁸ it seems reasonable to deduce that the petition as a whole was referred to the Twenty-four. It seems to have escaped notice,⁹ we may add, that, of the twenty-one castles in the list, in the case

¹ Tiberius B. IV, fo. 214 v°.

² *Annales Monastici*, i. 453.

³ He was alive in the early days of July, since he was one of the knights sent "ad arrestandum et consignandum" the money deposited by the Poitevins in religious houses: see *Cal. Patent Rolls (1247-58)*, p. 643, *Annales Monastici*, i. 445.

⁴ *Cal. Patent Rolls (1247-58)*, p. 638. M. Bémont falls into error in putting the date back to June (*Simon de Montfort* (1930), pp. 161-2).

⁵ Above, p. 294.

⁶ It is, however, evident that Gilbert of Ghent did not at once obtain possession of Scarborough Castle, see *Cal. Patent Rolls (1247-58)*, pp. 638, 665; and on 29 March, 1259, the appointment of keepers was renewed in the case of Dover, Scarborough, Nottingham and Bamborough, apparently because a new oath was exacted giving greater control to the Fifteen: *Cal. Patent Rolls (1258-66)*, p. 19.

⁷ An entry of 9 September, 1259, on the Patent Roll states that this was done by the "nobles of the council" at the Oxford parliament, *Cal. Patent Rolls (1258-66)*, p. 42.

⁸ *Annales Monastici*, i. 439.

⁹ Cf. Treharne, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

of seven—Devizes, Horston, Gloucester, Rochester, Canterbury, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Bamborough—no change whatever was made; the five keepers of these castles were presumably confirmed in their office, but no fresh instructions of any kind appear to have been issued to them.¹

It will be evident from what has been said that all the texts of the "Provisions of Oxford" have suffered correction to a greater or less degree: all too have suffered in other ways. It must, we think, be obvious that the original behind the texts provided by the Burton Annals and Tiberius B. IV was in a state of confusion and included matter which, strictly speaking, is irrelevant. The list of the Twenty-four could not have formed part of the "Provisions of Oxford," for, as Professor Powicke has emphasised, the Twenty-four were appointed early in May.² It is not therefore an indication of incompleteness if the Coke Roll omitted this list. The Coke Roll, however, lacked also a large section of seven articles dealing with the reform of the Church, the appointment of the justiciar, the treasurer and the chancellor, the powers of the justiciar and the taking of rewards by the king's ministers, the appointment of sheriffs, and the

¹ John du Plessis, however, superseded Robert Neville at Newcastle on 3 November, 1258: *Cal. Patent Rolls (1247-58)*, p. 655. For the keepers of the seven castles before the Oxford parliament, see *ibid.*, pp. 417, 419, 457, 620, 622. The bulk of the new appointments settled at Oxford had effect from 22 June, others from 23 and 27 June, *ibid.*, pp. 637-9. Sherborne, which is not mentioned in either the Burton Annals or Tiberius B. IV, was not committed to Stephen Longespee, who already had been given Corfe, until 11 July, but this decision was taken after the break-up of the Oxford Parliament (*ibid.*, p. 639). For later changes see *ibid.*, pp. 649, 654-5.

² *Baronial Council*, p. 120. We doubt, however, whether they "had probably been at work for a month before the adjourned parliament met," if by this is meant that they assembled as a body and drafted proposals. The language of the letters patent of 2 May (*Foedera*, i. 371—the *Calendar* is inaccurate) and of 5 May (*Cal. Patent Rolls (1247-58)*, p. 627) seems impossible to reconcile with this view. Probably members of both groups of twelve did in the interval consider to some extent the problems with which they were charged, and there may have been opportunities for consultations between both sides; but three of the Twenty-four, Simon de Montfort, Guy de Lusignan and Hugh Bigod, were for practically the whole of the time in France (M. Gavrilovitch, *Étude sur le Traité de Paris de 1259*, pp. 22-5; *Foedera*, i. 371; *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, iii. 413-15), and it seems certain that the first formal meeting was at Oxford. See Treharne, *op. cit.*, p. 69, for a similar view to our own.

reform of the Jewry.¹ The explanation of this omission is, doubtless, that the section should come at the beginning of the "Provisions," that it was lost from the Coke Roll—being written perhaps on a separate membrane—sometime between the date of its writing and the seventeenth century, and that it was misplaced in the Burton-Tiberius original. Nor can we conceive of any document such as the "Provisions of Oxford" being drafted in a way which put an article providing for the reform of the Church in the place it occupies in the Burton Annals and Tiberius B. IV; the mediæval sense of propriety would, without question, have put the Church in the first paragraph. The four articles which deal with the principal officers of the Crown thereupon follow logically² and, it may be noted, grammatically. The article concerning sheriffs comes naturally after one dealing with the king's ministers, and a reference to the exchequer might well then suggest the Jewry. Escheators are a kindred subject, and with the paragraph that concerns them we come to the beginning of the Coke Roll, the order of which seems manifestly superior to that of the other texts. It seems obvious, for example, that the oath of keepers of the castles and their names should come together, as they do in the Patent Roll³ and the Coke Roll, and should not be widely separated. And again, the provision that three parliaments are to be held a year should come logically before the names of the Twelve elected to treat with the council at those parliaments. Two paragraphs, however, in the first twenty-two articles of the Coke Roll appear to be interpolations: the eleventh which records the delay granted to Henry of Almaine before deciding whether or not to take the oath of the *Commune*, and the thirteenth, the king's letter of 4 August, 1258. The former is not *in pari materia*, and makes an obvious interruption; the latter, being subsequent to the date of the proceedings at Oxford, seems manifestly out of place. For in our view it seems necessary to suppose that the conclusions of the Oxford parlia-

¹ *Annales Monastici*, i. 450-1; above, p. 293.

² The appointment of the justiciar was certainly one of the first acts of the Oxford parliament: *Annales Monastici*, i. 443; iii. 209; iv. 119. Hugh Bigod is officially styled "justiciar of England" on 22 June: *Cal. Patent Rolls (1247-58)*, pp. 637-8; cf. Treharne, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 637-9.

ment were reduced to writing, not only in the form of separate memoranda as individual decisions were made, but in the form of ordered minutes to which reference could be made by the new government which carried on the work of the Twenty-four.

Some explanation is needed of the relations between the Twenty-four and the reconstituted Council to which they handed over the task of reform. We must admit that the exact scope of the activities of the Twenty-four is likely to remain conjectural, largely, however, because the conception of what should be their functions changed rapidly under the impact of the events of June and July, 1258. Originally they seem to have been charged with all save, perhaps, the routine work of the king's council. Besides their general duty to "order, rectify and reform" the affairs of the kingdom,¹ they were expected, for example, to settle the difference between the king and Simon de Montfort as to the lands to be assigned in respect of the yearly fee and the debts due to him.² The statement in the "Provisions of Oxford" that the Twenty-four were to reform the affairs of the Church "*kant il verrunt liu et tens*" shows pretty conclusively that the *gravamina* of the clergy,³ as well as the "Petition of the Barons,"⁴ had been referred to them. Ultimately the Twenty-four were superseded by the Fifteen; but for a few weeks the two bodies may have had some sort of co-existence.⁵

The Fifteen had not been selected by 22 June,⁶ but the new council was certainly constituted by the 28th, upon which day Henry of Wingham took oath "*coram baronibus Anglie de custodia sigilli Regis.*"⁷ The Lusignans had withdrawn in the

¹ *Foedera*, i. 371.

² *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1247-58), p. 627.

³ *Annales Monastici*, i. 412 ff. The articles as given here are presumably not in the form in which they were ultimately presented to the king.

⁴ Above, p. 293.

⁵ As seems to be implied by the language of the paragraph in the "Provisions" dealing with the chancellor's oath (see below, p. 313). Dr. Treharne takes another view (*op. cit.*, p. 75), but he does not explain why the king delayed until 4 August his formal acceptance of the council of Fifteen. There are, of course, difficulties, however we explain the sequence of events.

⁶ Shirley, *Letters of Henry III*, pp. 127-8; *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1247-58), p. 637.

⁷ Close Roll 42 Henry III (C. 54/73), m. 6d. The oath was, of course, that set out in the "Provisions of Oxford" requiring the assent of the council to all important documents that passed the seal (*Annales Monastici*, i. 439).

interval;¹ and on the 28th the Oxford parliament seems to have broken up to go in their pursuit. Some days of confusion followed. Wingham himself did not rejoin the king until 3 July at Winchester.² On 5 July the Lusignans received their safe-conduct for overseas.³ Since William of Valence and Guy and Aylmer of Lusignan had been three of the Twenty-four, it is obvious that three vacancies were now created, unless, as is indeed probable, they had already been replaced by Peter of Savoy, the earl of Aumale and James of Audley, the three magnates elected to the council of Fifteen, who were not among the king's or barons' original nominees. However that may be, only seven of the Twenty-four (excluding the Lusignans) did not find a place either among the Fifteen or in an office which constituted membership of the council, for, as we have already pointed out, Hugh Bigod and Henry of Wingham, as justiciar and chancellor, were members *ex officio*. It might well, therefore, have been difficult to have distinguished the actions of the Twenty-four from those of the council, but it seems certain that it was quite definitely the council that at once took up the tasks left unfinished at Oxford, and also assumed the direction of current affairs.

On 8 July, while the court was still at Winchester, it was arranged that the "amendment a la Gyuerie," which is mentioned in the "Provisions of Oxford" as a task to be performed, should be considered on the 28th of the month. The entry on the Close Roll⁴ is worth reproducing in full:

De Iudeis.—Quia Rex intendit ordinare de Iudaismo suo per consilium suum die dominica proxima post festum sancte Marie Magdalene, prouisum est per consilium Regis et mandatum est Balliuo de Walingford, et constabulariis Castri Wintonie et Turris Londoniarum quod omnes prisiones Iudeos in custodia sua detentos deliberent quousque prouisio predicta facta fuerit.

It is evident from this that not only had the council fixed the day for the consideration of the question, but that it was the council which would decide upon the reforms to be effected. In the

¹ Cf. *Cal. Patent Rolls (1247-58)*, p. 664: letters of safe-conduct of 28 June to Aylmer, elect of Winchester, William of Valence and Geoffrey and Guy of Lusignan.

² Close Roll, *loc. cit.*

³ *Foedera*, i. 374.

⁴ C. 54/73, m. 6d.

latter part of July also a large number of letters, all bearing the date 1 August, were prepared and dispatched to Rome by the hands of master Rostand, the nuncio; "and all this," we are told, "was done by the counsel of the earl of Leicester, the earl Marshal, Peter of Savoy, the earl of Warwick, John Maunsel, John fitz Geoffrey, Peter de Montfort and others of the king's council."¹ Moreover, we have the notes of warranty upon the chancery rolls which clearly testify to the authority exercised by the council from 6 July onwards.²

But it would seem as though the committee of the Twenty-four had not yet been formally dissolved. A passage in the *Cronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum* describes the action of "quidam de predictis duodecim baronibus"—presumably the twelve elected in May *ex parte procerum*—in obtaining the formal adherence of the City to "quicquid predicti barones providissent ad commodum et emendationem regni." This was on 23 July;³ on 4 August, but not until then, the king formally announced the constitution of "nostre conseil des prodes hommes de nostre terre" for redressing and amending all the affairs of king and kingdom, promised to accept the decisions of the majority, and required general obedience to their "establissemenz."⁴ From that date, therefore, the Fifteen, together with the justiciar, constituted the effective and acknowledged govern-

¹ C. 54/73, m. 4d.; *Foedera*, i. 376.

² With *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1247-58), p. 640, where, on that date, the earl of Leicester, the earl of Gloucester, the earl Marshal, the justiciar, John fitz Geoffrey, John Maunsel and others of the king's council are warranted, compare *ibid.* (1258-66), pp. 8, 11, 15 *et passim*. On the Close Roll the formula "per consilium Regis" is employed on 6 and 7 July (C. 54/73, m. 6d), on 9 July, "per Hugonem Bigod iusticiarium et consilium Regis" (*ibid.*, m. 5). Warranty "per consilium" is, of course, ambiguous: letters so warranted may be found on 21 June and the council in this instance may be the Twenty-four (*Cal. Patent Rolls* (1247-58), p. 636).

³ *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, pp. 38-9. We must remember that, including the justiciar, ten of the twelve baronial nominees were on the council; they could therefore be rightly described as deliberating between 23 July and 5 August "super usibus et consuetudinibus regni in melius conformandis," for this the council was doing.

⁴ *Letters of Henry III*, p. 129. It is perhaps not without significance that on this same day Simon de Montfort was appointed keeper of Winchester Castle; above, p. 306.

ment of the country ; ¹ up to that date, however, it seems to have lacked formal recognition and to have been covertly opposed by the king and his friends.

The council proceeded with the tasks set by the Oxford parliament. On 5 August, the day after the king's announcement of the new council, proclamation was made in London regulating the exercise of the king's right of prise,² one of the reforms, as the Coke Roll indicates, decided upon at Oxford. Other reforms, in particular those demanding more formal legislation, could not be accomplished so speedily ; but again we may note that the limitation upon the acquisition of land by religious houses, another of the reforms of the Oxford parliament of which we are informed by the Coke Roll, was included in the " Provisions of Westminster " in October, 1259.³

Without attempting, however, to show in any detail the manner and order in which effect was given to the resolutions of the Oxford parliament, it is clear that very little was accomplished immediately, and that it was some weeks before the council had a free hand. It was then a mere matter of prudence to collect the scattered memoranda of such decisions as had been taken, and to reduce them to order. This step was taken, it would seem, early in July or on the last day or two of June, for we have no hesitation in ascribing the original of the Burton-Tiberius text to that time. The list of keepers of castles contains no appointment later than 27 June : it is an Oxford list.⁴ Nor is there anything in the original—as distinguished from corrections in the two copies—which points to the use of material of a date later than June or (excepting the paragraphs regarding the election of the Twenty-four) from any source other than the resolutions of the Oxford parliament. The confusion of the text may be due to haste or to the incompetence of the clerk employed to put together material on perhaps half-a-dozen slips of parchment ;

¹ As Professor Powicke has demonstrated, *op. cit.* Even more convincing perhaps is the separate ratification of the Treaty of Paris by the Fifteen and the justiciar (*Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, iii. 490 ; above, p. 304).

² *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, p. 39.

³ *Statutes of the Realm*, i. 10 ; *Annales Monastici*, i. 474, 482.

⁴ Above, p. 307.

but the confusion certainly dates from the day of the redaction of the document.

The date of the Coke text is less certain. It did not owe its origin to an attempt to correct the Burton-Tiberius text : it was an independent recension of similar, but not quite identical, material. Where the Coke Roll gave a French version of what appears in Latin in the Burton-Tiberius text—as in paragraphs nos. 6, 18, 19 and 21—we can be pretty sure that the two compilers had before them the memoranda of different clerks. On the whole, it seems most likely that the Coke text was compiled at very much the same time as the Burton-Tiberius text, when the desirability, if not the need, of a permanent record of the resolutions of the Oxford parliament was most obvious. If that is so, the corrections in the various lists, as well as the interpolations of paragraphs nos. 11 and 13 and the addition of paragraphs nos. 23 to 33 in the abstract, would have been the work of a later hand. Whether the Coke Roll was the altered original or a copy of it we have no means of knowing.

We have inferred that the "Provisions of Oxford" are in fact the resolutions of the Oxford parliament and not merely the resolutions of the Twenty-four. What we conceive to have happened is that the Twenty-four, from time to time during the session of the parliament, stated their proposals and that, possibly after debate, these received the approbation of the king and others present. In this way the language and some of the inconsistencies of the document can be explained. The Twenty-four never speak in the first person : if they speak at all in any of the articles it is in *oratio obliqua*. Next, if we examine the paragraphs concerning the chancellor, we must recognise that the oath which he is to take was drafted on some other occasion than the brief article which we would place fourth in the proper order of the "Provisions."¹ Note the attempt to provide for every eventuality, while there is some effort to soften the language. By the earlier article the chancellor is required not to seal anything "*hors de curs par la sule volunte del rei, mes le face par le*

¹ For the two articles, see *Annales Monastici*, i. 439. Only the oath was to be found on the Coke Roll (paragraph no. 17), the other article, as we conceive, must have been upon an earlier membrane subsequently lost ; see above, p. 307.

cunseil ke serra entour le rei." In the later article such things are not to be sealed " sanz le commandement le rei e de sun cunseil ke serra present "—a delicate restatement of the position—while grants of any considerable wardship or sum of money or escheat require the agreement of the Fifteen,¹ and nothing must be sealed contrary to any ordinance made or to be made by the Twenty-four. Again, the two paragraphs regarding the election of the Fifteen are clearly the work of two occasions; and that which formed paragraph no. 10 of the Coke Roll must be earlier than the paragraph (no. 19) giving the names of the council.²

Does either text of the "Provisions of Oxford" possess any special authority? There can, of course, be no question of the substantial authenticity of each separate paragraph. In some instances we possess independent official texts of the same documents;³ and where we do not, other contemporary evidence is as a rule conclusive.⁴ The question we wish to put is whether the Coke text, as we might reconstruct it, is more "official" than the Burton-Tiberius text. Manifestly it is superior in arrangement and, if we are right in our assumption that when it came into Selden's hands it had lost the opening section which we can restore from the Burton-Tiberius text, the Coke text was more complete, since it supplied two additional articles (nos. 2 and 7). But even so we cannot regard the Coke text as anything more than ordered memoranda prepared for the information of some

¹ This is, we think, implied by the words "le assentement del grant cunseil." In the fourteenth century the term "great council" appears always to indicate the presence of magnates as well as ministers: it is not a common expression in the thirteenth century.

² The repetition of the names of the four electors and the method of election indicates that paragraph no. 20 with no. 19 once formed an independent document, the whole of which was mechanically copied.

³ Besides the lists of the Fifteen and the Twelve, the oath of the keepers of castles which is to be found on the Patent Roll (*Calendar* (1247-58), p. 637) and the K.R. Memoranda Roll (E. 159/32, m. 11, schedule).

⁴ E.g. the names of the four electors are on the Patent Roll (Shirley, *Royal Letters*, ii. 128; *Calendar* (1247-58), p. 637), as are also the names of the keepers of castles (above, p. 306 f.). The provision for three parliaments a year is mentioned in the replies of Simon de Montfort to the articles drawn up against him in 1260 (Bémont, *Simon de Montfort* (1884), p. 351). And see pp. 293, 307 above as to the Jewry and paragraphs nos. 2 and 7 of the Coke Roll.

member or members of the council. In this sense we believe the Coke text to have been official, and we regard the Burton-Tiberius original in the same light, the latter being a less carefully compiled document by a less able clerk, but intended to serve a similar purpose. Knowledge of these memoranda was for the few within the government circle and for those to whom they cared to communicate them. That neither text was intended as a public document is practically certain, since, apart from the absence of the "Provisions of Oxford" from any roll of the chancery and exchequer, there is no evidence of such a document in an authoritative form, with preamble or attestation, and this at a time when documents intended for public information were drawn up with careful attention to such clauses.

The "Provisions of Oxford" were not designed, then, to be a permanent record. The purpose of such copies as were made was temporary and practical. By the time the Michaelmas parliament of 1259 had accomplished much of the task that had been begun at Oxford, their immediate interest must have diminished; and it may be significant that neither in the Burton-Tiberius text nor in the Coke text can we date any alteration later than the autumn of 1259.¹ Before many months were over there were no further alterations to make.

Public documents continue regularly to refer to the authority of the magnates of the council until about the end of 1260,² but soon after cease to do so, although a grant is made by their advice on 7 January, 1261,³ and there seems to be a reference to action

¹ As shown in particular by the lists of the council and the Twelve. It may be noted that early in 1260 Peter of Savoy seems to have been removed from the council (Bémont, *Simon de Montfort* (1884), p. 351), while another vacancy was created by the death of the Earl of Aumale at Amiens a few months later (*Flores Historiarum*, ii. 450; *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium*, ii. 327). Again, the death of Roger of Monthaut some time before 28 June, 1260 (*ibid.*, ii. 329) must have created a vacancy among the Twelve.

² For instances in October and November see *Cal. Patent Rolls (1258-66)*, pp. 95-7, 127-8, Close Roll, 45 Henry III (C. 54/77), mm. 25, 26d. Notes of warranty "per consilium" continue into December in the Close Roll and then cease. Dr. Treharne believes that internal changes and conflict altered the character of the council during 1260 (*op. cit.*, pp. 235 ff.); nominally, at all events, it kept in being until early in 1261.

³ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, ii. 35.

taken with their approval in February.¹ Certainly it was intended in November, 1260, that the claim of the Earl Marshal to the custody of prisoners condemned in the eyres of the justiciar should be determined by the magnates of the council in the following Candlemas parliament.² This parliament, meeting on 23 February,³ to which the king invited his friends to come in arms,⁴ is, however, the turning point. The smouldering dissension flared up into acrimonious dispute between king and council.⁵ Thereafter there are no more references to the authority of the magnates of the council: the king is governing without their advice.⁶

When the king had struggled free from baronial control, the details of the "Provisions of Oxford" could have had little more than historical interest. It is true that they continued to furnish a text to the dissident barons, and when in August, 1261, John Maunsel summoned Hugh Bigod to surrender Scarborough and Pickering castles he was met with the reminder that the authority of the king and a majority of the council was necessary to relieve the keeper of his charge.⁷ But this was no more than a taunt at an old colleague who had broken the common oath. The opponents of the king were now indeed the *magnates rebelles* that he called them,⁸ and both sides had departed finally and irrevocably from the constitution sworn to at Oxford. When after Lewes a new constitutional scheme was produced it was on another basis than that of 1258.

It remains to add that the text below has been based upon the manuscript in the Petyt collection (for permission to print which we are indebted to the Library Committee of the Inner

¹ *Cal. Patent Rolls (1258-66)*, pp. 142, 149; the reference to them on p. 151 takes us back to 1258.

² *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, Fourth Series, v. 61.

³ C. 54/77, m. 17.

⁴ *Lords' Reports*, iii. 23.

⁵ To this parliament we would ascribe the articles of the king against the council and the council's replies, preserved in Tiberius B. IV. *

⁶ Cf. *Flores Historiarum*, ii. 464, where the king, addressing the magnates (of the council) apparently on the occasion of this parliament, is reported as saying: "Unde non miremini si, vestro non amplius consensurus consilio, vos vobis relinquam de cetero."

⁷ *Foedera*, i. 409.

⁸ Close Roll 45 Henry III (C. 54/77), m. 8d (22 August, 1261).

Temple), but we have noted the variations in the Stowe manuscript. Little further annotation is necessary, since we have already indicated where the text of any known documents summarised in the abstract may be found.

[fo. 53] Rotulus Parliamenti anno 42° H. 3 apud V[irum] C[larissimum] abridged by Mr Selden out of the Originall Roll which he borrowed of Mr Edward Cooke.¹

[1] Des ² Escheatours.

That they take nothing of the Kings estate etc.

[2] De prises le Roy.

Que les prises soient prise etc. au preu du Roy et du Roiaume.

[3] La chartre de la Franchise soit garde fermement.

[4] Des iiij Chivalers.

To be appointed for hearing all complaints of the people, so many in every County.

[5] Du Change du ³ Londres.

A remembrer fet du Change du Londres amender et de la Citee de Londres et de totes les autres viles le Roy que a honte et destruction sont ales par talleages et autres oppressions.

[6] De L'ostel le Roy et la Royne.

A remembrance to reforme them.

[7] A remembrance that Relligious persons purchase not so much.

[8] Il fet a remembre[r] que les xxiiij ont ⁴ ordene qe iiij Parlements soient per an le premer as oiteves [fo. 53b] de St. Michel, le secunz le demaine de la Chandleur, la tierce le primer jour de Juyn, Cestassavoir trois semains devant la Seint Jean. Et a ces iiij parlements vendront le Consilers le Roy esleus tot ne soient il maunde pur voer ⁵ [le estat] ⁶ du Royaume, e pur treter des communes busoignes du Roy e du Reaume. E autrement foiz ⁷ asemblerent quant mestier serra par le mandement le Roy.

[9] Des xij qi vendront as Parlementz pur le Comun.

Il fet a remembrer qe le Comun eslise xij preudes homes qi vindront as Parlementz ou autre fois quant mestier serra ou quant le Roi ou son

¹ Inner Temple, Petyt MS. no. 553/6. Stowe MS. 1029 adds the note 'v. Annals of Burton, p. 412,' a reference to Fulman's *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veteres* (1684).

² After this word is a comma which the transcriber of the Stowe MS. has mistaken for the figure 'j.'

³ Sic both MSS.

⁴ Both MSS. 'on.'

⁵ Stowe MS. 'voir.'

⁶ Both MSS. omit.

⁷ MSS. 'f.' Cf. Tiberius B. IV: "et autre foitz ensemblerent quant mester serra . . ."

Cour.sil les mandera pur treter des comunes busoignes du Roy e du Reaume et que le comun tendra pur estable ce que les xij ferront. Et ce [serra] ¹ fet por espermier le coust du comun.

- [10] Des xv. nomes.

That the 24 should name which they did that is the Erle Roger the Mareshall, the E. of Warwicke, Monsieur le Bigod and M^r John Mansell.

And they should name xv. to counsell the King and governe the Realme etc. and that which they [fo. 54] did should hold ferme etc. or the major part.

Yt appeares there that was 42 H. 3.²

- [11] Fet a remembrer que le merkerdie prochein apres la Seint John requi . . . ³ Monsieur H. fuis le Roy D'Alemaigne iour iesque as oiteves de la gule D'August a respondre selonc le mandement du Roy son pere, le quel il vodra sea ⁴ le serement que le Comun D'Angleterre a fet ou non.

- [12] The Counsellours of the King took their Oath.

- [13] Littera Domini Regis super rati . . . ⁵ Consilii sui eligendi. H. par le grace de Dieu Roi d'Engleterre a touz saluz. Sachez qe por le profit de nostre Reaume et a request de noz hauz homes et preudesomes de Comun de nostre Royaume otreames qe xxiiij de noz homes etc. And so according to that before ad signum.⁶ Sworne to by the King and Prince dated at London, le demainer prochein apres la gule haaust ⁷ lan de nostre Coronement xliij.

- [14] Les nomes des Chastiaus et des gardians liveres au parlement d'Oxford par le Rei et par les xxiiij Jurez.

The names of the Castles and the Keepers follow.

- [15] Le serement de Gardeins de Chastiaus.

- [16] La forme de serement la Justise.

- [fo. 54b] For dooing Justice generally and as the xxiiij etc.

- [17] La serement du Chancellor.⁸

That he shall seal no writt fors breve du course sans le comandement le Roy e son Conseil qe serra present etc. nor against the ordinances of the xxiiij, nor take any reward autrement etc.

¹ Both MSS. omit.

² Stowe MS. 'that appears . . . 42 H. 3.' The first three words should run on to 'the major part.' The indication of date belongs properly to the next paragraph.

³ Gap in both MSS.

⁴ Sic both MSS.

⁵ Stowe MS. 'nati': gap in both MSS. The word may have been "ratificatione."

⁶ Referring back to paragraph no. 10.

⁷ Stowe MS. 'gule da aust.'

⁸ Tiberius B. IV, fo. 214, supplies the word missing from the chancellor's oath in the Burton Annals: it is "deneres."

[18] Ce sont le xxiiij qi sont mis per le Comun a treter de l'ayde de Roy.

This number	Le Evesqe de Wircestre	Sire Roger de Mortimer
(xlviiij) is so	de Londres	Le seneschall de Munthaut
written there	Saresbury	Sire Roger de Somery
	Le Counte de Leicestre	Sire Peire de Mudford
	le Mareschall	Sire Thom a Grel
	Le Counte de Glocestre	Sire Fouke de Kerdestein
	Sire Pierce de Savoy	Sire Gile de Argentein
	Le Counte de Hereford	Sire Gile de Erdington
	d'Aubemarle	Sire Johan de Cryel
	de Wincestre	Sire Ph. Bassett
	de Oxenford	Mestre Guillaume de Powicke ¹
	Sire Johan le fiz Gefray	Sire Johan de Daure
	Sire Johan de Baliov	Sire Johan de Grey

E si ² ascun de ceus ³ ne poiat estre ou ne voloit qe ceus qe ⁴ servient ⁵ aint pour d'autre eslire en son lieu. ⁶

[19] Ces sunt les Nouns du Counsel Roy Jurez.

Le Archevesqe de Canterb'
 Le Evesqe de Wincestre ⁷
 Le Counte de Laycestre
 Le Counte de Gloucestre
 Le Count le Mareschall
 Pierce de Savoy
 Le Counte de Hereford'
 Le Count d'Aumarle
 Le Counte de Warwicke
 Johan Maunsell
 Sire Ph. Bassett
 Sire ⁸ de Monford
 Richard de Grey
 Roger de Mortimer
 Jame de Audedel

Thus written.

[20] Les doze depar le Roy ont eslu des doze qui sont depar le Comun, Le Counte Roger et Sire Hugh le Bigod. Et lautre parte devers le comun a eslu des xij qi sunt depar le Roy le Count de Warwicke et Sire Johan Mansell et ceux iiij ont poier deslier le Conseil le Roy, et quant il averont eslu le conseil le Roy il les monstrent as xx[iii] ⁹ e la ou la greigner part de ceaux xxiiij si assente soit tenu.

¹ Stowe MS. 'Po.'

² Both MSS. 'Est.'

³ Petyt MS. 'reux.'

⁴ Petyt MS. 'q'; Stowe MS. 'q3.'

⁵ Recte 'serrunt.'

⁶ Tiberius B. IV reads: "Et si ascun de ceus ne peuse estre ou ne veut ceus q^e serront eyent poair des autres eslire en sez lieuz."

⁷ Recte "Wircestre."

⁸ Both MSS. omit the christian name.

⁹ Both MSS. omit.

- [21] Les nom¹ de xij qi sont esluz par les Baruns a treiter aus traits Parlements par avoir² le Conseil le Roy des comunes busoignes.

Thus xliij

Le Counte de Wincestre
Sire Humfrey de Aboun
Sire Johan de Baillol
Sire Ph. Bassett
Sire Johan de Verduz³
Sire Johan de Grey
Sire Roger de Someroy
Le seneschal de Monthaut
Sire Hugh le Despenser
Sire Thomas⁴
Sire Gile de S.⁴
Sire Guillaume Bandouf⁴

- [fo. 55b] [22] La fourme de Serement Comun.

An oath of Joyning together save la foy etc.

- [23] A long writt touching the reformacion of the abuses of Sheriffs through all the Counties of England.

And the iiij Knights to heare complaints etc. 20 Octobre anno 42 H. 3 apud Westmonasterium.

- [24] Litera Consiliariorum Domini Regis et xij electorum ex parte Communitatis.

Le Conseil le Roy et les xij esleus par le Comun Dengleterre salvent toutes gents etc. for the reformacion of Justice they tell of the 4 Knights in every County and what oathes they will have taken in every franchise of their own etc. And they promysse upon their Oathes etc. la feste saint Pierre ou mais de Feurier lan de nostre Seigneur 1258.

Et tesmoigne de ceste chose nous avoms mis nos seaus a cest escrit.

- [25] Litera domini Regis directa iiij Militibus inquisitoribus.

H. dei gratia talibus Militibus salutem. Cum nuper in Parlamento nostro Oxonie communiter fuit ordinatum 28 Julii anno 42 a Commision of oier and terminator and that the sheriffs shall take their oathes in pleno Comitatu.

- [26] Edwardus illustris Regis Anglie primogenitus et heres [fo. 56] omnibus etc. Salutem. his promise to the Earles Barons and Commons to keep etc. 10 Julii 1258.

- [27] A Writt to the Sheriff to proclaime quasdam libertates et observantias etc. anno 43 H. 3.

- [28] The names of the 4 Knights for every County.

¹ Sic. both MSS.

³ Sic. both MSS.

² Recte "an oue."

⁴ Sic. both MSS.

[29] The Justices et autres sages homes are summoned that between that and the next Parlement they should consider of what ill Lawes and need of reformation there were, and that they meet eight days before the Parlement beginne againe, at the place where it ¹ shall be appointed to treat etc.

[30] Le Roy et les preude homes du Comun d'Angleterre porteront Chancelleir ² a sire Edward le quel etc. shall seal nothing but what is agreed by the Counsell given him, and shall take like oath as the Kings Chancelleir ³ etc.

[31] In Lettres of alliaunce between them for the service of the King and the Governement of the Kingdome.

Nos Symon de Montfort Counte de Leycestre et nos Richard de Clare Counte de Gloucestre avioms mis nos seaus au cest escrit pur nos et pur ceus ⁴ du conseil etc. Et nos Roger de Quen[c]y ⁵ Counte de Winchester et Thomas Greel ⁶ auom mis nos seaus a cest escrit por nos et por les autres que sont esleuz por le [Comun] ⁷ in Febr' Fest. S. Peter 43 H. 3.

[fo. 56b] [32] Walter Bishopp of Winchester ⁸ and Giles Bishopp of Sarisbury: Por toutes were procurators for all the Clergie and to the like purpose by an les Prelatz Instrument binde themselves the same day.

et Clergie

Dangleterre

[33] Divers of the Household officers removed as Cooke, Usher of the Buttery and such.

¹ Stowe MS. 'that.'

³ Stowe MS. 'Counsell.'

⁵ Both MSS. 'Queny.'

⁷ Petyt MS. omits.

² Stowe MS. 'porteront . . . Chancelleir.'

⁴ Stowe MS. 'tous.'

⁶ Sic. both MSS.

⁸ Recte Worcester.

"THE TRIAL OF MIDAS THE SECOND."

AN ACCOUNT OF BURNEY'S UNPUBLISHED SATIRE ON HAWKINS'S "HISTORY OF MUSIC" IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

BY W. WRIGHT ROBERTS, B.A.,

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

THAT keen judge, Mrs. Virginia Woolf, has written of Dr. Burney: "It is perhaps his diffuseness that makes him a trifle nebulous. He seems to be for ever writing, and then rewriting and requiring his daughters to write for him, endless books and articles . . . until he seems to melt away at last in a cloud of words." With prose as his medium, Burney certainly belonged to "the mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease." The urbane flow of his musical *History* carries us over many pages of forgotten names and outworn opinions. But he wrote verse, too, as anyone knows who has looked into Madame D'Arblay's *Memoirs* of her father; and in verse, if he "wrote with ease," it was the kind which often makes reading difficult. Tame, conventional effusions of the mood and the moment, or official rhymes drawn from him in his character of musical pundit, like his quite tolerable welcome of Haydn to England in 1794—such things have hitherto been accounted his title-deeds as versifier. But a small note-book in this Library contains a work of greater interest, quite the most important piece of verse-writing yet known to have come from his pen. It belongs to the collection of manuscript material once owned by Mrs. Thrale's adopted son, Sir John Piozzi Salusbury.

The little book ¹ is seven inches tall by four and a half wide.

¹ John Rylands Library, Eng. MS. 648.

Of its seventy-four pages, forty are taken up with a manuscript satire in heroic couplets entitled :

THE
TRIAL of MIDAS the 2^d.
or
Congrefs of Muficians.

Sixteen other pages contain corrections of the text, additions, or footnotes. All the handwriting is Burney's.¹ Under a transparent disguise the poem satirises *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, written by Sir John Hawkins. The footnotes, indeed, consist entirely of quotations from that work. Beneath the last line of text appears the significant date 1777—the year after the publication of Hawkins's *History* and also of the first volume of Burney's. No author's name or initials are appended; yet, on internal evidence alone, the satire cannot conceivably be the work of anyone but Burney himself.

By a coincidence not without parallel in the annals of other departments of learning, the first two comprehensive musical histories in our language saw the light in the same year. In publication, indeed, Burney anticipated his rival by four months. He had issued plans as early as 1770. No leisured amateur, however, like Hawkins, but a busy musician and a fashionable teacher, he did not finish his fourth and last volume until 1789, the year of Hawkins's death. Widely praised and liberally subscribed for, his work seemed to extinguish that of his rival. But only his first volume ever reached a second edition. Hawkins's *History*, a much-maligned production, whose appearance, complete in five volumes, so perturbed Burney in 1776, reached its second edition in 1853, and its third in 1875, all but a century after its first publication. Already, from such facts, we suspect something of the differences in predilection and temper which divided the two men, friends of Johnson though they both were, and members of the Literary Club. But, to account for the satire, we must examine these differences more closely. Burney,

¹ For this assertion I have the palæographic authority of my colleague Dr. M. Tyson. In his charge (in Eng. MS. 545) there are 13 letters, besides pieces of fugitive verse, all addressed to Mrs. Thrale by Burney between 1777 and 1807.

after all, though not the most gifted, was perhaps the friendliest, the most urbane and tactful member of Johnson's circle. Johnson called him "a man for all the world to love." How could he, then, even as a private, unpublished indulgence, satirise a fellow-musician as bitterly as in some of these pages he does? For to be Midas, King of Phrygia, is to be no musician at all; Apollo decorated Midas with a pair of ass's ears for liking the rustic reed of Pan better than the lyre.

Beneath Charles Burney's many virtues, beneath his wide culture and prodigious industry, lay one chief failing: he was fashionable. We do not think mainly of the aristocratic pupils among whom he spent his days; of the foreigners, sometimes distinguished, who crowded his musical evenings; or of his daughter Fanny's appointment at Court. He was fashionable as a historian of music; he upheld fashionable views. And he did so without compromise, for his urbanity masked a strong, rather obtuse positiveness. Johnson knew that; contradicted by Johnson, Burney had once fired up and made him apologise, an event unique in Mrs. Thrale's experience.¹ Continental travel confirmed in Burney's mind the conviction that the prevailing Italian school of music was the supreme flower of the art. For him, Handel was great mainly because of his Italian operas, written and produced in London from 1711 to 1740. Only a handful of songs from them survive to-day; but to that "limbo of vanity" raised by Handel and others in London, to its strings of florid airs, its petted male sopranis and *prime donne*, Burney devoted over three hundred pages of his *History*. To Handel's oratorios he gave the space of a bare list, and little more. Their choruses, the composer's chief strength, were for Burney survivals of a bygone art. He felt at home with single melodies, however ornate; for they were fashionable. Choral polyphony, the weaving of simultaneous melodies, was to him "Gothic" and outworn. He did fair justice to Purcell, though unable to hide his regret that this composer lived in the dark ages before the eighteenth century. He slighted unpardonably our Elizabethan madrigalists. Worst of all, he vouchsafed to John Sebastian

¹ Piozzi, H. L., *Anecdotes of Samuel Johnson*, ed. S. C. Roberts, p. 93.

Bach a few scrappy sentences ; in those days the greatest of polyphonists was decidedly unfashionable. Such are the main blots on this famous and still valuable *History*.¹ Their origin seems clear. The fashionable Burney is less “nebulous” than Mrs. Woolf imagines.

A dictum of Johnson hangs round Hawkins’s neck : “Sir John was a most unclubbable man.” In that age the brightest spirits were usually clubbable ; so much the worse for any who were not. We have little unbiassed testimony about Hawkins. Johnson also called him penurious and mean, and spoke of his “tendency to savageness” ; on the credit side is the assurance : “I believe him to be an honest man at the bottom.” Hawkins made good as an attorney ; he was knighted for his zeal as a magistrate. His wife brought him one fortune and inherited another. In leisured ease he wrote a history of the art he had always loved, not with his rival’s busy professional devotion, but with the dogged fondness of the enlightened amateur who has strong antiquarian instincts. He did not travel, but luckily acquired valuable texts and authorities from the dispersed musical library of Dr. Pepusch. His *History* displays nothing like Burney’s technical knowledge, and few graces of style ; it is less clearly planned, more conservative in taste, and in its theoretical parts more crabbed and prolix. But its narrative deals out a more even-handed justice. Hawkins respected Elizabethan music, sacred and secular ; his treatment of its composers, even when inadequate, was never scornful. He found room for a decent account of Lully, the French operatic master whom his rival disdained. His pages on Handel, though in detail less rich than Burney’s, were much more sensibly proportioned ; he said more coherently the little he had to say of Bach, and even quoted from his work. Indeed, both in mass and in quality, his musical examples put those of Burney in the shade. And there breathes from his pages a fine sense of the multifariousness of music. He follows the art into strange byways and corners ; we realise more fully than in Burney its social, its antiquarian aspects.

¹ I say nothing of the inaccuracies of statement which abound both in Burney’s and in Hawkins’s work, especially in the earlier volumes. These *Histories* are the foundations, still firm in parts, of a modern scholarship which has transcended them.

There is something like charm (Dr. Ernest Walker¹ has felt it) in the description by Hawkins of the humble beginnings of the Madrigal Society. Here, with old music, and among men, of whatever station, who loved it, Hawkins might possibly have been "clubbable" after all. Fashionable he never was. He roundly condemned that curse of his age, empty virtuosity in singing or in playing; contemporary opera, he declared, was to the judicious "the mere offspring of luxury . . . of all entertainments the most unnatural and absurd."²

Little wonder that Burney wrote his satire. Here, in 1776, four months after his own first volume, there came at a blow these five tomes of Hawkins, praising what he despised, attacking his most cherished predilections. In the name of Italian art, if only in private, he must lash this Goth, this dusty antiquarian of music :

Black-Letter'd Chains his cold Ideas bind
Nor let Conviction beam upon his Mind;
Eager with fire & Faggot to pursue
Whate'er is graceful, Elegant, or new.³

The poem would have chimed in, had he printed it, with much public execration; with a bitter attack on Hawkins's work by George Steevens in *St. James's Chronicle*; and with a catch, widely sung for years afterwards, whose doggerel lines are quoted by Sir Henry Hadow in "Grove."⁴ Burney's satire tells of the

¹ *A History of Music in England*, p. 214.

² Compare Johnson's definition, in his *Life of Hughes*: "The Italian opera, an exotick and irrational entertainment."

³ *The Trial of Midas the Second*, p. 5.

⁴ "Have you Sir John Hawkins' History?
Some folks think it quite a mystery.
Musick fill'd his wondrous brain.
How d'ye like him? is it plain?
Both I've read and must agree
That Burney's History pleases me."

Which in performance is made to sound :

"Sir John Hawkins!
Burn his history!
How d'ye like him?
Burn his history!
Burney's history pleases me."

arraignment, trial and sentence of his rival, the second Midas, who has shown his musical ineptitude by disagreeing with the fashionable school. Of course—the author assumes at the outset, with an amusing air of infallibility—right judgment in such matters is really an affair of inspiration :

Within the magic circle of the Arts,
Where Genius only draws & knows the Charts,
What Mortal, uninspir'd, who entrance found,
The Rocks c^d clamber, or the Caverns sound ?

Burney, however, knows his way about the realm, and will now recount for us "the ills that wait on Gothic rage."

A satiric versifier of his type, tolerably well read, especially in Pope, sometimes leaves us doubtful whether he means all he says. Eighteenth-century satire could be fairly malignant. In charity we may assume that in parts of the poem—mainly in those not dealing directly with Hawkins's *History*—Burney piles up defamation not from actual malice, but because such is the satirist's accepted task. He sneers at his victim's magisterial calling ; he dwells with satisfaction on his unpopularity. With such passages we need not concern ourselves. We shall seek out those, germane to his subject, in which the writer becomes most articulate ; where his indignation and scorn—not always unjustified—so work on his diction as to turn it from conventional paths. Apollo is besieged on his throne by a clamorous crowd. They complain of Hawkins, "a certain scribe malign," who has set up, wholly unqualified, as a writer on music, and has traduced their favourite composers. In their arraignment of him, a fixed notion of the writer's prevails, already expressed in our first quotation from the poem—that a reigning fashion in music is of necessity right, while older forms of the art are perforce barbarous and outworn :

For he, alas ! long since so stuff'd his head
"With all such reading as was never read" ;¹
With Canons, Madrigals, Motets, & Fugues,
With Points, Conundrums, & such useless drugs ;
So oft in Cobwebs poked his Nose & Broom,
For Good, in house or head he left no room.

Hence, ev'ry Rule he draws from Gothic Works,
 From barb'rous Jargon, & unmeaning Quirks,
 Produc'd in impious & ill-fated Days
 When all thy Sacred altars ceas'd to blaze . . .

Helped out by a line from *The Dunciad*, this passage is livelier in imagery than the bulk of Burney's poem ; conviction breathes from it, too ; here he undoubtedly means what he says. Apollo is indignant, but thinks the fate of such a Midas too paltry a concern for a god. "Try him yourselves," he says, and vanishes. In the next Canto, accordingly, the court sits ; in London, we imagine, but the scene is not localised. The elected judge is Dr. William Boyce, a respected veteran composer at the date of the poem ; editor of a fine collection of Cathedral music, writer of solid anthems and of the sturdy song "Heart of Oak." Burney thus describes him :

A man whose Probity was bias proof,
 And Music, like his Manners, bold & rough.
 In both, tho' new refinem^{ts} he withstood,
 His heart & Harmony were sound & Good.

That any music by Boyce should be accounted "rough" is sad proof of the Italianate taste of the satirist.

The trial begins ; Midas is accused of defaming certain composers. The list of them is swelled by one of the witnesses, not the brazen classical figure of Fame, we are told, but a more modest lady called Fair Renown, who bursts into tears as she recounts the fate of her sons. To-day the list reads strangely ; half these names sleep undisturbed in "Grove" ; rarely indeed do we hear a note of the music of those who bore them. And the names are of course mostly Italian, or belonging to the Italian schools. In certain complaints, too, Burney is justified ; Hawkins passes much too cursorily over the important Scarlattis, father and son. On Palestrina he is fairly adequate, but dry ; he never commanded, even for his favourites, Burney's measure of urbane eloquence. He had also a surly habit of withholding praise from composers who had received much of it. Allegri, for example, wrote a famous *Miserere*, "which," says Hawkins, "by reason of its supposed excellence and pre-eminence over all others of the like kind, has for a series of years been not only

reserved for the most solemn functions, but kept in the library of the pontifical chapel with a degree of care and reserve that none can account for.” This was the kind of thing to infuriate Burney, who revered established reputations ; above all, when Hawkins challenged Allegri with Purcell and Blow, and crushed him with Tallis—all mere Englishmen ! Hasse, too, though German-born, was for many years of the eighteenth century the chief pillar of Italian opera, turning out by the bushel in Dresden just the airs that suited the *primo uomo*, the *prima donna*, and their infatuated train. His music is forgotten. Hawkins spoke moderately when he said that Hasse’s abilities were “greatly overrated,” and agreed with another critic as to his “effeminacy.” This was to fly in the face of contemporary opinion. Of course, Hawkins made mistakes ; but Time, on the whole, has vindicated his strictures on the sons of Fair Renown.

The witnesses at the trial are all personified abstractions, which the author tries hard to bring to life. Science, a worn, grey old woman with a piercing eye, declares that Hawkins has no real knowledge of her rules. She speaks of his “Gothic authors,” of his endless “dry quotations”—Hawkins certainly overdoes these—and of his exasperating lack of order and method :

For so much Darkness & Confusion reign
That all cry out—*Chaos is come again.*

Taste orates in true eighteenth-century style about his own mission ; it is to “lop luxuriance” from the artist’s “lavish soul.” But what can he do ? Hawkins disclaims him, does not know him. Wit, a much laboured figure with a tolerable touch here and there, says that the solemn looks of the prisoner have always chilled his blood. And a modicum of wit, could he but find it, would undoubtedly help the reader through Hawkins’s volumes. In the last of the three Cantos appear two witnesses for the defence. One, a psalmodist, deposes to the prisoner’s deep lore in church music ; the other, a dusty, cobwebbed figure, speaks of his antiquarian learning in general. Burney’s impatience with the latter subject, much though he had to delve into it for his own *History*, is evident in some of his letters, and in his preface too. It breathes from this witness’s account of Hawkins’s “Gothicism” :

Then for inveterate Diligence, my Friend
 With Hearne or great Duns Scotus may contend :
 O'er Hedge & Ditch, thro' half the Realm he'd flounder
 To learn when Death snatch'd from us a Bell-founder ;
 Nay, Mine a Cemet'ry ten Fathom deep
 To find when poor Flute-borers went to sleep ;
 The many Peals of Bells a Rudhall cast
 Or Flutes a Stanesby burrow'd for the blast . . .

Burney's very aversion from such points gives vividness to his writing here. With his eyes on the polite contemporary world of music, with his ears bewitched by Italian opera, he may have cared little for the fact that the Rudhalls were a notable clan of Gloucester bell-founders, or that two Thomas Stanesbys, father and son, "men of ingenuity and exquisite workmen" (but too obscure for "Grove"), made flutes in London in the eighteenth century. But fashions change in music, and facts abide. Much of Burney is now just a monument to bad taste ; the patient, multifarious instinct of Hawkins for facts has given longer life and more permanent value to his *History*.

Boyce, the judge, now sums up ; he tries to be fair, and reminds the court that the prisoner has at least praised Handel and Purcell. But the verdict, of course, is "Guilty." We quote certain lines giving the purport of the prisoner's speech from the dock. They present Hawkins in a guise grotesque enough, but showing effectively the impression he made on contemporaries of a muddled amateur, a dry, defiant conservative of music :

No *Words* He'll use, or Music, to his death
 But what delighted great Elizabeth.
His Style is uniformly free from swelling
And such as best comports with Story-telling . . .
 Some Critics say, wth taunting Insults bitter
 That both his Head & Work are in a Litter . . .
 But, 'tis a World incurably diseas'd
 That, by *his* Rules, will ne'er be taught, or pleas'd.
 So, let 'em perish ! He'll no more admonish
 Or try again the Learned to astonish.
 No new Impressions of his Volumes Five
 Shall ere be seen by Mortals now alive ;

Nor shall their Offspring ere be plagu'd or teaz'd
With what their Ancestors so much displeas'd,¹—
At You, My Lord ! He'll now for Judgm^t look—
—Do what you will with Him, his Fame, and Book.

Boyce passes sentence. Hawkins (in effigy) and his five volumes (in reality) are to be drowned in Fleet Ditch. This is done, and the satire ends.

Our summary has, we hope, made clear the drift of *The Trial of Midas the Second*. In our citations we have tried to show the author's writing at its best, and his views in their most forgivable light. His style is on its average levels duller and lamer, more full of the trite poetic abstractions of the Popian school. And, as we have said, he descends in places to more malignant personalities, even to branding Hawkins as a Midas in the commoner sense of that term. If it is fair to take such things, at least in part, as the stock-in-trade of the satirist, it is also charitable to assume that Burney thought his whole poem, both in matter and in manner, unworthy of publication. We may have seemed unfair to him, in our concern to do justice to his rival's solid worth. But to right the balance should not be difficult. Hawkins, greatly to his credit, loved the Elizabethans and the earlier polyphonists, whose abiding qualities had been obscured by the vogue of flimsy Italian opera. But at Handel, and at the worthier Italian instrumental writers such as Corelli and Geminiani, his musical mind appeared to stop. He lived till 1789, yet could not appreciate Haydn. Burney did ; he might follow fashions, but he took the good with the bad. Seven years younger than Hawkins, and much longer lived, he realised the worth not only of Haydn and Mozart but of early Beethoven before he died. For an English musician verging on eighty to appreciate Beethoven in 1805 was no bad achievement. Let us quote, as a relief from Burney's verse, a delightful passage from one of his memoir-books of that year, copied later by Madame D'Arblay into her own *Memoirs*² of her father. He was a guest one evening at the Duke of Portland's, where he met Lord and Lady Darnley.

¹ A bad prophecy ; Hawkins, as we have said, was twice reprinted. But Burney's wish was father to the thought.

² Mme. D'Arblay, *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, 1832, III, 359.

But they had been announced while he was dressing, and he did not know who they were :

" . . . I got into a hot dispute that I should else, at the Duke's house, have certainly avoided. The expression, 'modern refinements,' happened to escape me, which both my lord and his lady, with a tone of consummate contempt, repeated : 'Modern refinements, indeed !' 'Well, then,' cried I, 'let us call them modern changes of style and taste.' . . . They were quite irritated at this ; and we all three then went to it ding-dong ! I made use of the same arguments that I have so often used in my musical writings—that ingenious men cannot have been idle during a century ; and the language of sound is never stationary, any more than that of conversation and books. . . . And to say that the symphonies of Haydn, and the compositions of Mozart and Beethoven, have no merit, because they are not like Handel, Corelli and Geminiani . . . is supposing time to stand still.—I was going on, when the kind Duke, struck, I doubt not, by a view of the storm I was incautiously brewing, contrived to whisper in my ear, 'You are upon tender ground, Dr. Burney !' I drew back, with as troublesome a fit of coughing as I could call to my aid ; and during its mock operation, his Grace had the urbanity to call up a new subject."

Yes : he is still the fashionable Burney, in the paltrier as well as the worthier sense. To stand up to a Johnson may be all in the day's, or the night's, work ; but to stand up to a Lord and a Lady Darnley on a matter of music, even when you are the leading English authority with the prestige of a famous *History* behind you—that is a thing to regret, if by mistake you happen to do it. But again, let us be charitable ; Burney was usually quite an amiable man ; no doubt he realised that "hot disputes" on any subject should be avoided. And Hawkins, often enough, was a surly person ; the testimony on that point cannot all be wrong. We may feel disconcerted that "a man for all the world to love" wrote *The Trial of Midas the Second*. But Hawkins's *History* had touched him to the quick ; he unloaded the venom from his mind by means of his satire, and then, we hope, forgot all about it. He may—we cannot tell—have shown this little note-book to friends. Yet, through one fact, his character as an amiable man may stand secure : he did not publish his *Midas*.

THE MILLER'S TALE: A STUDY OF AN UNRECORDED FRAGMENT OF A MANUSCRIPT IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY IN RELATION TO THE FIRST PRINTED TEXT.

BY GUTHRIE VINE, M.A.

SUB-LIBRARIAN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

A FORTUITOUS examination of a fragment of a Chaucer manuscript, formerly in the Althorp collection, and now in The John Rylands Library,¹ containing portions of The Miller's Tale, revealed numerous divergences from the Six-Text print of "The Canterbury Tales," issued by the Chaucer Society. The occurrence of so many variations in a small fragment is remarkable, and may be considered an adequate reason for the publication of the text.

The two leaves composing the fragment have been reproduced in facsimile; a transcription of the text has also been provided. (For convenience of reference, the facsimiles and the transcription have been placed at the end of the article.) With the view of exhibiting in as clear a manner as possible the peculiarities of the fragment the corresponding portion of the text of the Ellesmere manuscript has been printed interlinearly with it. In this way, a comparison with the text of the manuscript held in the highest esteem by Chaucerian scholars is easily available. It should be stated that the discrepancies in the same passages between the Ellesmere and other texts published in the Six-Text print are of minor importance, being in many cases only a matter of insignificant differences in spelling.

The divergences in this fragment from the text of the Ellesmere manuscript, with which the other chief manuscripts as reproduced in the Six-Text print of "The Canterbury

¹ Rylands English MSS., no. 63.

Tales" substantially agree, are of every kind, namely, additions, omissions, variations in spelling, and transpositions of words in corresponding lines.

Discrepancies in manuscripts are intentional or the reverse. If of the former class, they arise either from the use of an earlier manuscript supplying a different text, or from an attempt of some one to play the part of editor. Unintentional variations are due either to carelessness in transcription, or to the ignorance of the copyist which causes him to misread the original text. An editor may be guilty of errors caused by negligence, but unless he is entirely incompetent to his task, one does not expect the mistakes of illiteracy in his work.

Applying these criteria to this manuscript, can we draw any conclusions that will help to explain its variations? An examination of its various distinctive readings seems to support the view that it represents the work of an editor who had some pretensions to scholarship.

This manuscript belongs probably to the first quarter of the fifteenth century, perhaps about 1420. The general style, as well as the character of individual letters, lends support to this opinion. There is a certain general resemblance between it and the manuscript in Corpus Christi College, which is attributed to "about 1430" in the collection of "Autotypes of Chaucer manuscripts" issued by the Chaucer Society. To the text of the latter manuscript we shall have occasion to refer later.

The Rylands manuscript is written in an excellent, calligraphic script. The verso of the first leaf of the fragment, on which the text of the actual tale begins, has an illuminated border running down the left-hand side and along the top and foot of the page. At the commencement of the text there is a large, decorative initial W. The upper portion of this page is occupied by a well-executed, tinted picture of the miller on horseback. From these indications it may be assumed that the two leaves formed part of a manuscript of some contemporary importance. In this case, the peculiar nature of the text has the more claims to attention, apart from any other interest which it may be found to possess. An examination of the linguistic features of the manuscript forms an integral part of the general textual problem.

The determination of dialect in Middle English is rarely an easy matter. The problem is analogous to that which often presents itself in connection with the provenance of manuscripts. As a copyist may employ a script not entirely characteristic of the age and place of origin, so in the same way he may, consciously or unconsciously, introduce alien words or forms of spelling, due to his previous residence in some other district. Allowance must be made for such disturbing factors. One may cite here appropriately the words of Mr. Kenneth Sisam, 'that the localization of a piece of Middle English on the evidence of language alone calls for an investigation of scope and delicacy.' As he had just stated: "A dialect has really no precise boundaries; its borders are nebulous." ("Fourteenth Century Verse & Prose," p. 271, 1923.)

The dialect of the fragment appears to be mainly of the East Midland type, with some Northern forms, e.g. *skolere*, *selve*, *fuson*, *oppon*.

The spellings to be found in the East Anglian "Promptorium Parvulorum" in many cases confirm this opinion. The following instances may be given: *blode*, *gabyl*, *maydyn*, *mery*, *mone*, *swymmyñ*, *wedyr*.

In other respects the orthography of the manuscript deserves attention. The employment of *i* for *e*, especially in inflections, is to be observed: e.g. *clepide*, *Goddis*, *gystis*, *harrowide*, *herbis*, *lordis*, *nedith*, *sawide*, *towchith*, *tubbis*, *wederis*, *a nothir*, *bettir*, *nevvir*, *Oxinforde*. This usage is found in Wiclif and was conjectured by Professor Skeat to be a mark of the so-called Oxford dialect, but by the middle of the fifteenth century, if not before, was so widely employed as to be of little assistance in determining the question of dialect.

In some cases we notice that *y* has been preferred to *i*: e.g. *yf*, *hydous*, *myllere*. In others, as compared with the Ellesmere spellings, we find the reverse: e.g. *him*, *I dite*, *maist*.

Other points which may be noted are the use of the letter *w* instead of *u* or *v*: e.g. *awisith*, *ewil*, *sawide*, *thow*, and the consistent employment of the form *axe* (*ask*).

There is a tendency to omit a final *e*, and often the preceding consonant, if doubled, e.g. *al*, *befal*, *company*, *drench*, *gentilnes*,

his, holynes, les, pas, rich. On the other hand, instances are to be found where a final *e* has been added to a word : e.g. anone, axe, eche, howe, wee, wele.

Some phonetic principles probably underlie a number of these variant spellings : in other words, there has been a definite attempt at editorial work, as has been already suggested.

The most noticeable variations in this manuscript are the omission of several lines, ll. 3195 and 3196, and ll. 3567 and 3568, the repetition in part of l. 3562 in place of l. 3563, and the substitution of an entirely different line in place of the usual one in the case of l. 3518. The omissions might be attributed to negligence on the part of the transcriber, but the presence of a variant line in a carefully written manuscript suggests that the original manuscript from which this one was copied was the source of the differences.

Some other lines and readings are worthy of note. In l. 3188 we find "Chorll" for the rare word "gnof," which may certainly be regarded as a mark of an editor's hand at work. In l. 3566 "pryuite" replaces the word "purueiaunce." The repetition of the word "loke" in l. 3549 may be due to carelessness in transcription, and in any case is not of importance.

Among the earliest books printed by Caxton in this country after he set up his press at Westminster was the first edition of "The Canterbury Tales." About six years later Caxton brought out a second edition. In his "Prohemye" to this later edition he relates how some one came and informed him of the defective character of the earlier one, offering at the same time to borrow from his father a more perfect manuscript if Caxton would undertake to reprint the work. This proposal was at once accepted by Caxton, who then proceeded to print a new edition, "corrected" by the manuscript which had been lent to him for the purpose.

It is not the least interesting feature of this fragment of the Miller's Tale that some of its distinctive readings are in agreement with those to be found in the first printed edition of "The Canterbury Tales."

In order to show clearly this resemblance, a selection has been made from the readings of the manuscript and the corre-

sponding ones from the printed edition. Those of the second edition published by Caxton have also been cited. In addition, the readings of the manuscript preserved at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, have been given for the purpose of further comparison, since, in the opinion of Professor Zupitza, "Specimens of all the accessible unprinted manuscripts of *The Canterbury Tales*" pt. 3, 1893, the manuscript employed by Caxton for his first edition, belonged to the Corpus group. The two manuscripts of this group which he considers to have the closest links with that of Caxton are the one at New College, Oxford (no. 314) and that at Trinity College, Cambridge (R. 3.15), more particularly the latter. The former is a vellum manuscript, fifteenth-century, and the latter, one on paper, fifteenth (-sixteenth) century. The Corpus manuscript represents the C-type of text, the other two mentioned are of the D-type, which is described by Professor Skeat as "a mere variety of C, with an external difference."

The readings of the Rylands fragment are quoted first; these are followed on consecutive lines by those of the two editions of Caxton and of the Corpus manuscript, indicated by the symbols C1, C2, and CC respectively. According to Professor Zupitza there are two sub-divisions of the Corpus group—one of which that manuscript is the principal member, and another which includes the two other manuscripts named above. It is not easy to understand, even if this theory be accepted, the existence of so many differences as shown hereafter. The problem remains how so many variations could arise in manuscripts of the same group in a comparatively short period. Explanations might be proffered, but unless these are based on a survey of the whole field of evidence, they can only have a hypothetical value, and may be regarded as almost nugatory.

1. 3170 Me ouyr thinkith that I shal reherce it here
 Me ouer thynketh that I shal reherce it here (C1)
 Me at thynketh that I shal reherce it here (C2)
 Me aþinkeþ þat I schal reherce hem heere (CC)
1. 3172 Demeth nat for goddis love that I sey
 Demeth not for goddis loue that I say (C1)
 Demeth not for goddis loue that I say (C2)
 Demeþ nought for goddes loue that I seye (CC)

- l. 3188 A rich Chorll þat gystis had to bord
 A riche chuf that gestis hadde to borde (C1)
 A ryche gnof that gestis hadde to borde (C2)
 A Riche gnoffe þat gestes heeld to boorde (CC)
- l. 3540 Or that he myght gete his wyfe to shīp
 Or that he mighte gete his wyf to ship (C1)
 Or that he myght gete his wyf to ship (C2)
 Or þat he mighte gete his wif to schipe (CC)
- l. 3559 Hit suffisith the but yf thy wit be mad
 It suffisith the but yf thy wit be mad (C1)
 It suffysith the but yf thy wit be mad (C2)
 Sufficeþ þe but if þi wittes madde (CC)
- l. 3566 That no man shal our pryvite aspy
 That noman of our pruyte aspye (C1)
 That noman of our pourueyance espye (C2)
 That noman of oure purueance espye (CC)
- l. 3575 Than shul we swymmyn as merely I vndirtake
 Than shul we swimme as merily I vndertake (C1)
 Thā shul we swymme as merily I vndertake (C2)
 Thanne schalt þou swymme as mery I vndertake (CC)
- l. 3585 When wee be entrid into the ship bord
 When we be entred in to the ship bord (C1)
 When we be entred in to the shyp bord (C2)
 That we ben entred in to þe schippes boord (CC)

A few instances of similarity in spelling between the manuscript of the Miller's Tale and the two editions of Caxton have been appended, together with the form of the word found in the Corpus manuscript.

- l. 3165 fuson—fuson (C1)—fuson (C2)—foysoñ (CC)
 l. 3166 remnaunt—remenaunt (C1)—remenaunt (C2)—remenant (CC)
 l. 3201 sly—sly (C1)—sly (C2)—sleigh (CC)
 l. 3551 sufficiaunte—sufficiaunt (C1)—sufficiaunt (C2)—suffisaunt (CC)
 l. 3552 remnaunte—remenaunt (C1)—remenaunt (C2)—remenaunt (CC)
 l. 3571 gabil—gabyl (C1)—gabyl (C2)—gable (CC)
 l. 3572 stabil—stabyl (C1)—stabyl (C2)—stable (CC)

It will be observed that the readings of the second edition of Caxton do not differ much from those of the first edition, except in two cases. In l. 3188 the second edition has the word commonly found 'gnof' for the peculiar 'chuf' of the first edition, and in l. 3566 the usual reading 'pourueyance' replaces 'pruyte.' This close likeness between Caxton's two editions has been noted

by Miss E. P. Hammond in an article "On the order of The Canterbury Tales: Caxton's two editions," which appeared in *Modern Philology*, vol. 3, 1905. On this point she cites Professor Koch to the same effect: "Professor Koch" (she says), "finds in the Pardoner's prologue and tale proof of the same 'correction all along' in Caxton II by a manuscript of another type than Caxton I, while Caxton I served substantially as basis for the new edition." In the "Prohemye" to the second edition, of which mention has already been made, Caxton himself, in referring to the volume that was lent him, says "by whiche I haue corrected my book," i.e. the first edition of "The Canterbury Tales".

Miss Hammond's conclusions are apparently not in entire accord with the views of Professor Koch. In her opinion the second edition of Caxton cannot be regarded as a mere descendant of the first one. She considers that the manuscript used by Caxton for the second edition, whilst derived from the same archetype as that of the first, was copied at a somewhat later date, having additions not in the earlier recension, and that both manuscripts belonged to a general class in which The Man of Law is bound to The Squire. This conclusion supports that of Professor Zupitza, previously mentioned, that the manuscript employed by Caxton for his first edition was a member of the Corpus group. From the instances quoted above it seems clear that it was not very closely related to that particular manuscript.

There is one slight clue as to the provenance of the manuscript employed by Caxton for the first edition of "The Canterbury Tales," furnished by his use of the word 'chuf' for churl. The earliest example found in "The Oxford English Dictionary" is from the East Anglian "Promptorium Parvulorum," c. 1440. In the edition of this work based upon the text of the Harleian MS. 221 which was prepared by Albert Way for the Camden Society, "Choffe, or chuffe, charle, or chutt . . ." is given (vol. 1, pp. 77) as the equivalent of Rusticus. The next instance, somewhat later, of the use of this word as found in "The Oxford English Dictionary," is from "The Fables" of the Scottish poet, Robert Henryson. Then no other example is cited by that authority until the middle of the sixteenth century.

We mention these facts in order to show that 'chuf' was not a word in general use. The employment of it in this production of Caxton's press which seems to have escaped the attention of lexicographers hitherto derives additional significance thereby.

It will be noticed that the early examples of the use of the word 'chuf' supplied by "The Oxford English Dictionary" point in the same direction as the evidence adduced respecting the manuscript which has evoked this article. By itself a mere hint might not be deserving of mention, but taken in conjunction with other indications it cannot be dismissed as valueless.

The results of this article may then be briefly summarised: (1) that the manuscript of "The Miller's Tale" in The John Rylands Library had its origin in the east of England; (2) that it belongs to the same group of manuscripts from which Caxton printed his first edition; (3) that the manuscript employed by Caxton for that purpose, which in the opinion of Professor Zupitza was a member of the Corpus family, differed in many particulars from the one after which that group is named, but was closely akin to that which has been the object of our study.

A great deal of research has been carried out in the purely textual study of the manuscripts of Chaucer, but sufficient attention has not perhaps been given to their antecedent history. No literary results which fail to include a thorough examination of manuscript material from the palæographical standpoint can be regarded as complete. The provenance of a manuscript as determined by the character of the script, the style of illumination and illustration, and its general form, supported by internal linguistic clues, may be a valuable aid to the elucidation of its textual peculiarities. When this method of investigation is applied to a number of manuscripts and conclusions are based on the cumulation of data thus obtained, the strength of the united strands of evidence is incontestable—plausibility is succeeded by probability, conjecture gives way to certainty. A solution of outstanding problems in connection with the text of Chaucer may yet be found in this way. In the projected publication of The Chaucer Society, "A Comparative Study of all the MSS. of The Canterbury Tales," by Professor J. S. P. Tatlock, such a palæographical survey will no doubt fill an important place.

Until the appearance of this work, a definitive judgment must be deferred on questions of this kind that are still at issue.

It may not be inapposite to recall that very soon, probably, after the appearance of the first edition of "The Canterbury Tales," Caxton printed Chaucer's translation of "Boethius de consolatione philosophiæ." The epilogue to this work informs us that Chaucer was buried before the chapel of Saint Benet in Westminster Abbey, and that a pillar had been erected there with a Latin epitaph by Stephanus Surigonus of Milan, which Caxton quotes in full. At the conclusion are the following four lines :

Post obitum Caxton voluit te viuere cura
 Willelmi. Chaucer clare poeta tui
 Nam tua non solum compressit opuscula formis
 Has quoq; s; laudes. iussit hic esse tuas.

These lines have been interpreted to mean that Caxton himself was responsible for the erection of this pillar and epitaph. By whom could such a tribute to Chaucer's memory be more appropriately paid than by William Caxton, himself a writer of distinction, born in the weald of Kent, with which county the poet had close connections, and like him discharging at various times important diplomatic functions.

Though to Chaucerian scholars this study may appear to have yielded but little fresh material for the critical knowledge of the original text, yet, if it should help to throw light on the character of the manuscript which was employed for the first printed issue of "The Canterbury Tales," it may perchance be accepted as a slight contribution to the history of that 'mercator of y^e cyte of London' to whose zeal and enterprise England is indebted for the establishment of its earliest printing press and to whose cultivated instincts the literary nature of the productions of that press is largely due.

3158 I have a wyfe parde as wel as thow
 I haue a wyf pardee/as wel as thow
 Yit nolde I nat for the Oxen in my plowe
 Yet nolde I/for the oxen in my plogh
 3160 To take oppon me more than I nowe
 Take vp on me/moore than ynogh

- As demyn of my self that I were one
 As demen of my self/that I were oon
 I wol be leue there for that I am none
 I wol bileue wel/that I am noon
 An husbonde shulde nat be inquisytyfe
 An housbonde/shal nat been Inquisityf
 Of Goddis pryvitees ne of his wyfe
 3164 Of Goddes pryuetee/nor of his wyf
 So he may fynde Goddis fuson there
 So he may fynde goddes foyson there
 Of pe remnaunt nedith he nat to enquere
 Of the remenant nedeth nat enquere
 What shulde I more sey but this myllere
 ¶ What sholde I moore seyn/but this Millere
 He nolde his worde for no man for bere
 3168 He nolde his wordes/for no man forbere
 But tolde his Chorlishsh tale in this manere
 But tolde his cherles tale in his manere
 Me ouyre thinkith that I shal reherce it here
 Mathynketh/that I shal reherce it heere
 And therfor euery gentil white I prey
 And ther-fore euery gentil wight I preye
 Demeth nat for goddis love that I sey
 3172 ffor goddes loue/demeth nat that I seye
 Not for ewil entent but pat I must reherce
 Of yuel entente/but that I moot reherce
 Al here talis al be they bettir or werce
 Hir tales alle/be they bettre or werse
 Or ellis to falsen som of my matere
 Or elles/falsen som of my mateere
 And therfor who so listynyth nat to here
 3176 And therefore/who so list it nat yheere
 Torn owire the lefe and chese a nothir tale
 Turne ouer the leef/and chese another tale
 ffor he shal fynde I now both grete and smale
 ffor he shal fynde ynowe/grete and smale
 Of storial thing that towchith gentilnes
 Of storial thyng that toucheth gentillesse
 And eke moralite and also Holynes
 3180 And eek moralitee/and hoolynesse
 Blamyth nat me yf that yee chese a mys
 Blameth nat me/if that ye chese amys
 The Millere is a Chorll yee knowe wel this
 The Millere/is a cherl/ye knowe wel this

- So was the Reve and also othir mo
 So was the Reue/and othere manye mo
 ffor of Harlotry they tolde both to
 3184 And harlotrie//they tolden bothe two
 Awisith yewe and put me out of blame
 Auyseth yow/putteth me out of blame
 And eke men shul nat take earnest of game.
 And eek men shal nat maken earnest of game
 Here endithe the myllere His Prolog
 And owire the Leff begynnyth þe tale.
 ¶ Heere bigynneth the Millere his tale
 Whylom there dwellide in Oxinforde
 Whilom/ther was dwellynge at Oxenford
 A rich Chorll þat gystis had to borde
 3188 A riche gnof/that gestes heeld to bord
 And of his craft he was a Carpenterere
 And of his craft he was a Carpenter
 W^t him pere was dwellyng a pore Skolere
 With hym/ther was dwellynge a poure scoler
 That lernyde Art but al his fantecy
 Hadde lerned Art but al his fantasye
 Was turnyde for to lerne Astrologye
 3192 Was turned/for to lerne Astrologye
 And also he coude a certen of conclusiōns
 And koude/a certeyn of conclusiōns
 ffor to demyn by interrogaciōns
 To demen/by Interrogaciōns

 If þat men asked hym/in certein houres

 3196 Whan þat men sholde haue droghte or elles shoures
 Or yf that men axide him what shulde befall
 Or if men asked hym/what sholde bifalle

 Of euery thing I may nat rekyn al
 Of euery thyng/I may nat rekene hem alle
 This clerk was clepide hende Nicholas
 ¶ This clerk was cleped/hende Nicholas
 Of derne love he coude and of solas
 3200 Of deerne loue he koude and of solas
 And thereto he was sly and also ful pryve
 And ther-to/he was sleigh/and ful priuee
 And also like a maydyn for to se
 And lyk a mayden/meke for to see

And a Chambir he hade in that hostolory

A chambre hadde he in that hostelrye

Alone with outyn ony company

3204

Allone/with-outen any compaignye

fful fetously I dite with herbis sote

fful fetisly ydight with herbes swoote

And he him selve as swete as the rote

And he hym self/as sweete as is the roote

Of licoryse or of ony manere Cetewale

Of lycorys/or any Cetewale.

.

Sey what thowe wilt I shal it nevvir tel

3511

Sey what thou wolt/I shal it neuere telle

To Childe ne wyfe by hym that harowide hel

3512

To child ne wyf/by hym that harwed helle

Now Johñ quod Nicholas I wol nat ly

Now Iohñ quod Nicholas/I wol nat lye

I have it founde in myne Astrology

I have yfounde/in myn Astrologye

As I have lokide in the mone so bright

As I haue looked/in the moone bright

That now a monday next at quartere nyȝt

3516

That now a monday next at quarter nyght

Shal fal a reyn and that so wilde and woode

Shal falle a reyn/and that so wilde and wood

May Criste for bede it for his verry blode

That half so greet was neuere Noees flood

This worlde he seide in les than in an oure

This world he seyde/in lasse than an hour

Shal al be dreynt so hydous is the shoure

3520

Shal al be dreynt/so hidous is the shour

Thus shal man kynde drench and lese her lyfe

Thus schal mankynde drenche/and lese hir lyf

This Carpenter answerde Alas my wyfe

¶ This Carpenter answerde/allas my wyf

And shal she drench alas my Alisoun

And shal she drenche/allas myn Alisoun

ffor sorow of this he fil al most a doun

3524

ffor sorwe of this/he fil almost adoun

And seide is there no remedy in this case

And seyde/is ther no remedie in this cas

Yis sire for Gode quod this end Nicholas

¶ Why yis for gode/quod hende Nicholas

Yf thou wolt workyn aftir lore and rede

If thou wolt werken/aftir loore and reed

Thow maist nat workyne aftire thyne owne hede

3528

Thou mayst nat werken/after thyn owene heed

ffor this seith Salamon that was ful trewe

ffor thus seith Salomon)/that was ful trewe

Work al by counsel and thou shalt nevvir rewe

Werk al by conseil/and thou shalt nat rewe

And yf thou workyn wolt be good counseile

And if thou werken wolt by good conseil

I vndirtake with outyn mast or seile

3532

I vndertake/with-outen Mast and seyl

3it shal I save here and the and me

Yet shal I sauē/hire/and thee/and me

Hast thou nat herde howe sawide was Noye

Hastow nat herd/hou sauēd was Noe'

When that oure lorde hade warnyde him be forne

Whan þat oure lord/hadde warnēd hym biforn

That al the worlde with watir shulde be lorne

3536

That al the world/with water sholde be lorn

3is quod the Carpenterē ful yore ago

¶ Yis quod this Carpenter/ful yore ago

Hast thou nat herde quode Nicholas also

¶ Hastou nat herd/quod Nicholas also

The sorowe of Noye with his felshipe

The sorwe of Noe/with his felaweshipe

Or that he myght gete his wyfe to shīp

3540

Er þat he myghte/brynge his wyf to shipe

Him had be lewir I dare wele vndirtake

Hym hadde be leuere/I dar wel vndertake

At þat tyme than al his wederis blake

At thilke tyme/than alle hise wetheres blake

That she hade hade a ship here selve alone

That she hadde had a shipe/hir self allone

And therfor wotist thowe what is best to done

3544

And ther-fore/woostou what is best to doone

This axithe hast and of an hastif thyngē

This asketh haste/and of an hastif thyng

Men may nat preche and make tarijng

Men may nat preche/or maken tarijng

Anone go gete vs fast in to this Inne

¶ Anon go gete vs faste in to this In

- A knedyng trowȝe or ellis a kemelyne
 3548 A knedyng trogh/or ellis a kymelyn
 ffor eche of vs but loke loke that they be large
 ffor ech of vs/but loke þat they be large
 In wich wee mow swymyn in as in a barge
 In whiche/we mowe swymme as in a barge
 And have there in vitaille sufficiante
 And han ther-Inne/vitaille suffisant
 But for O day and fy on the remnaunte
 3552 But for a day/fy on the remenant
 The watir shal a slake and go a way
 The water shal aslake/and goon away
 About pryme oppon the next day
 Aboute pryme/vp on the nexte day
 But Robyn may nat weet of this thy knave
 But Robyn/may nat wite of this/thy knaue
 Ne eke thy maydyn Gyl I may nat save
 3556 Ne eek thy mayde Gille I may nat saue
 Axe nat why for thogh þov axe me
 Axe nat why/for though thou aske me
 I wol nat tellyn Goddis pryvyte
 I wol nat tellen goddes pryuetee
 Hit suffisith the but yf thy wit be made
 Suffiseth thee/but if thy wittes madde
 To have as grete a grace as noye hade
 3560 To han as greet a grace/as Noe hadde
 Thy wyfe shal I wele save out of dout
 Thy wyf shal I wel sauen/out of doute
 Go nowe thy wey and spede the here about
 Go now thy wey/and speed thee heer aboute
 Go nowe thy wey and spede the
 ¶ But whan thou hast for hire and thee and me
 And go fast 7 gete þese knedyng tubbis thre
 3564 Ygeten vs/thise knedyng tubbes thre
 Than shalt thoue hang hem in þe rofe ful hy
 Thanne shaltow hange hem/in the roof ful hye
 That no man shal oure pryvite aspy
 That no man/of oure purueiaunce spy

 And whan thou thus hast doon/as I haue seyd

 3568 And hast oure vitaille/faire in hem yleyd
 And eke an axe to smyte the with ato
 And eek an Ax/to smyte the corde atwo

I haue a thyse payd as wol as t' d' d'
 yit nold q nat for the eyen in my sloth
 to take oppen me more than q nold
 As demyn of my self that q weye oue
 q wol be lesse thei for that I am none
 An husdons schuld nat be inquisityse
 Of goddis pytytes no of his thyse
 So he may fynd goddis fupid thei
 Of so iournamit nouth ho nat to enquey
 What schuld I more sey but this mythei
 he nold his word for no man for beye
 But told his chorchlysh tale in this maneys
 mo ony thynkith that q chat jehoynt heye
 And thei for eneyt arunt whyn q qey
 Demeth nat for goddis lode that q ovy
 Not for ebyit entent but pat q must jehoynt
 At hey ratid at bo they betti or weye
 Or ellie to faldon com of my matye
 And thei for to ho o lifynith nat to heye
 torn othy the lesse and ches a nothy tale
 For he chat firs q nold both here and fuald
 Of fional thyn that to bechith ientifuee
 And o's moralite and also hohness
 Blawith nat me yf that yee ches a mye
 the mythei is a chortt yee knothe wol this
 So beae the dede and also othy me
 For of haylogy they told both to
 dylifith yeebe and put me out of blame
 And eke men schul nat take enost of yame
 Here endithe the mythei The Prolog
 And othy the less be ymyth y tale



When they were in Oxenford
 A rich cloth was by him to be sold
 And of his craft he was a carpenter
 For him was set a pore stole
 That was by him at his fantasy
 Was by him for to be sold

And also he was a carpenter
 For to be sold by him
 Or if that man was by him
 Of any thing I may not say
 This cloth was by him
 Of his own hand he was
 And they by him were
 And also by him
 And a chandier he was
 Along with him
 But for a while
 And he was by him
 Of his own hand he was

Sey what thou wilt & what it nedyn tel
 to this us wyse by him that haye is hel
 Roff quod quos richolas & wol nat by
 & hade it found in myne Astrology
 As & hade lokis in the mone & byght
 what noon a monday next at quarter nyght
 shal ful a ioye and that of wylde and woode
 maye gife for bese it for his wemy bloode
 this world he wylde m lde than in an ouye
 what al be sypur to hydone is the ohenye
 this what man bynde sypur and les hep hys
 this carpenter answerd Alas my wyse
 And what ohe sypur alas my dylound
 for wroth of this he fil at most aound
 And wylde is thep no iouesye in this case
 ye sy for god quod this ons richolas
 yf thou wilt workyn aftyr lode and lode
 thou maye nat workyn aftyr thynd othe hode
 for this south Salamon that was ful helde
 work al by counsel and thou shalt wylde lode
 And yf thou wilt workyn wilt be good counsile
 quod tate wylde outyn maye or wylde
 it what & wylde hep and the And mo
 hast thou nat hode hode wylde was alode
 when that our lord had wylde him be found
 that at the world with wylde shuld be found
 ye quod the carpenter ful yore a go
 hast thou nat hode quod richolas also
 the wroth of maye with his felshyp
 Or that he myght goto his wyse to ship
 him has be lode & dawe wylde condyrate
 at pat tyme than al his wylde blode
 what ohe has had a ship hep wylde a lode
 And thou for wylde thou what is best to done
 this axthe hast and of an hastyf thing
 thou may nat pliche and make tynge
 And now go goto we fast in to this quile
 a fuesyng tynge or othe a founoun

ffor ach of us but lode lode that they be say go
 In such tere more orey myn in as in a baygo
 And hader they in counte sufficiant
 Abur for o day and fy on the iemnants
 the waty shal a slake and go a way
 A boutt pyms oppon the next day
 But probyn may nat beet of this thy fuado
 nas oke thy maydyn epy may nat eade
 Dye nat ehy for thogh you axe me
 I wol nat tellen goddis pynto
 hit suffich the but yf thy withe me
 to hase as gote a hare as noye hase
 thy terys shal I wote oade out of dert
 So nore thy eey and spose the hey a dert
 So nore thy eey and spose the
 And go fast a gote jese And yng tubbie the
 than shalt thosse hang hem in jese fulhy
 that no man shal oyr pynto a hy
 And oke an eye to smyte the with a to
 when that the waty count that we may go
 And hoke an hold au hygh oppon the gabit
 qu to the gaydyn eayd our the fadit
 that esod may hoke pae forth our iker
 when that the gye shony is passyn a tery
 than shal we orey myn a c moey qondy tade
 De dorth the ehyte dode afy the dyat
 the wol a clape hoke dhyssu hoke jese
 the meye for the fode wol pae a noue
 And thos erot eey heil masty Ryndlay
 god moztos q wtho wote for it is dey
 And than shal we be fode al our hse
 of al the worlde ae eade ahoue and he tery
 But of o thing q eayd re and pat ful just
 the esol a ehyse ou that all nyght
 when we be outyd in the ohy boud
 that noon of cos than hoke no word
 the clape us ay in be in the poye
 ffor it is goddis hse tade and dode

Ande eke men shul not make ernest of game

¶ Here begynneth the Milleres tale.

¶ Hilom ther was dwellyng in Openforde

A riche chuf that gestis hadde to horde

And of his craft he was a Carpenter

With hym ther was dwellynge a poure scoler

Hadde lernyd art but al his fantaspe

Was turnyd for to lerne astrologye

And coude a certeyn of conclusions

To demyn by interrogacions

If that men asked hym certayn houres

Whether they shold haue drough or houres

Or yf that men asked hym what shold befall

Of euery thyng I may not rekene alle

This clerk was clepyd hende Nicholas

Of derh loue he coude and of solas

And ther to he was sly and ful pryue

And lyk amayden meke for to se

A chambir hadde he in that hostelrye

Alone withoute ony companye

Ful fetously I dight with herbis sote

And he hym self was swete as is the rote

Of licorice or of ony Cetevale

This almegeste his tokis grete and smale

This astrologye longynge for his art

This albegryn stones lay feire apart

On sheluis colchid at his beddis hed

This presse pouered with a foldynge reed

And al aboue ther lay agay saltere

The Mylleres tale

Within ther was dwellyng in Osenforde
 A ryche gnof that gestis hadde to lordes
 And of hys craft was he a carpenter
 With hym ther was dwelkyng a pour scolere
 Hadde lernyd art but al hys fankyspe
 Was turnyd to lerne astrologye
 And coude a certayn of conclusions
 To demyn by interrogacions
 If that men asked hym certayn houres
 Whether they shold haue drought or shoures
 Or yf that men asked hym what shold befall
 Of euery thyng I may no rekene alle
 This clerk was clepyd hende Nicholas
 Of dem kyng he couthe and of solas
 And ther to he was sly and ful pryue
 And lyk a mayden meke for to se
 A chambrer hadde he in that hostelrye
 Alone wythout ony compaignye
 Ful fetuysly y dyght wyth hys soke
 And he hym self was swete as is the rote
 Of lycorice or of ony Eetebale
 Hys almegeeste hys lokys grete and smale
 Hys astrologye/longynge for hys art
 Hys albyrmy stones lay feyr a part
 On shelys colchyd at hys beddis hed
 His presse pouered wyth a foldyng wede
 And al aboue ther lay a gay salbete
 On wyche he made a nyghtis melodye
 So swete that al the chambrer wong
 And angelus ad virginem he song
 And after that he song the kyngis note
 Ful often blyssyd was hys mery throte
 And this swete clerk hys tyme spent
 After hys frendes fyndyng e hys rent
 This carpenter hadde weddyd newe a wyf
 Wyche that he buyd more than hys lyf
 Of xxiiij yere he was of age
 Iehou he was e held for nauow in cage

- When that the watyr comyth that we may go
 Whan þat the water comth/that we may go
 And breke an hole an hygh oppon the gabil
 And broke an hole/an heigh vp on the gable
 In to the gardyn warde ouyr the stabil
 3572 Vnto the gardynward/ouer the stable
 That wee may frely pas forth oure wey
 That we may frely/passen forth oure way
 When that the grete shoure is passyn away
 Whan þat the grete shour/is goon away
 Than shul we swymmyn as merely I vndirtake
 Thanne shal I swymme/as myrie I vndertake
 3576 As doith the white doke after the drake
 As dooth the white doke/after hire drake
 Than wol I clepe how Alysoun howe Johñ
 Thanne wol I clepe/how Alison)/how lohñ
 Be mery for the flode wol pas anone
 Be myrie/for the flood wol passe anon
 And thou wolt sey heil mastir Nycholay
 And thou wolt seyn/hayl maister Nicholay
 3580 God morowe I se the wele for it is day
 Good morwe/I se thee wel/for it is day
 And than shal wee be lordis all oure lyfe
 And thanne/shul we be/lordes al oure lyf/
 Of al the worlde as was Noye and his wyfe
 Of al the world/as Noe and his wyf/
 But of o thing I warne þe and þat ful right
 ¶ But of o thyng I warne thee ful right
 3584 Be wel awyside on that ilk nyght
 Be wel auysed/on that ilke nyght
 When wee be entride into the ship̄ borde
 That we ben entred/in to shippes bord
 That noon of vs than speke no worde
 That noon of vs/ne speke nat a word
 Ne clepe ne cry but be in his preyere
 Ne clepe/ne crie/but been in his preyere
 3588 ffor it is Goddis hest leue and dere
 ffor it is/goddes owene heeste deere.

HAND-LIST OF CHARTERS, DEEDS, AND SIMILAR
DOCUMENTS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE JOHN
RYLANDS LIBRARY. II (2). DOCUMENTS AC-
QUIRED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

By MOSES TYSON, M.A., Ph.D.

MANCHESTER (co. Lancs.).

[R. 63418] 756. Grant by Robert del Hyne to William le Hunt, chaplain. Sept. 20, 1359. Presented by T. W. Hall, esq. From Lot 59 of the Lindsay Sale, see above.

[R. 61205] 757-766.

BRISTOL.

757. Lease by John Gibbys and John Browton, procurators of the Church of St. Peter, Bristol, to Simon Olyver, burgess. Feb. 16, 1393. Seal, imperfect.

758. Will of Matilda Horrig, wife of Walter Horrig of Bristol. Mar. 5, 1395/6. Probate May 9, 1396.

759. Bond of William, son of Thomas Rogers, merchant, late of Bristol, to John Jutter of the same, sergeant. May 14, 1499. Seal.

CHURCHSTOKE (co. Montgomery).

760. Exemplification of final concord between John Clerke, of the one part, and Abraham Vaude Bushe, John Morgan, Thomas Powell, and Johanna, his wife. Nov. 7, 1635. Seal fragment.

LLANGAMMARCH (co. Brecknock).

761. Quitclaim by Gwylm ap Thomas Lloid to David ap Hoell ap Griffith, yeoman. July 17, 1551.

762. Quitclaim by Retherghe Gwyn David ap Rethergh of Glan brane, to Thomas David Powell ap Griffith. Jan. 15, 1576. (Eng.)

763. Grant by Ritherghus Gwyn of Glann braen in the parish of Llanvair ar y bryn, co. Carmarthen, to Thomas ap David Hoel ap Griffith of Llangamarch. Jan. 2, 1580/1.

LLANGIBBY (co. Monmouth).

764. Grant by Sir John Griffith, kt., to Madok ap Jeuwan ap Griffith. Feb. 6, 1441. Seal, imperfect.

LONDON.

765. Receipt from George Bond, a collector appointed by H.M. Privy Council, to Richard Claiton. Jan. 15, 1590/1.

WAMBROOK (co. Dorset).

766. Sale by John Hody to John Hugyn and Robert Lye. May 1, 1472. (Eng.)

[R. 60504] 767-771. Presented by Harold W. Atkinson, esq., M.B.E., M.A. They all concern what was later No. 11 Atkinson Street (Cupid's Alley), Manchester.

MANCHESTER (co. Lancs.).

767. Mortgage by Ebenezer Edwards, mercer, to James Sedgwick, merchant. Nov. 19, 1725. (Eng.)

768. Bond of the same to the same. Nov. 19, 1725.

769. Assignment of mortgage by James Sedgwick to John Cottam of Stretford, chapman. Apr. 8, 1726. (Eng.)

770. Lease by Ebenezer Edwards to John Hawkeswell, vintner. Apr. 9, 1726. (Eng.)

771. Release by the same to the same. Apr. 11, 1726. (Eng.)

772. Appointment by Selena, Dowager Countess of Huntingdon, of the Rev. George Whitefield as domestic chaplain. Sept. 1, 1748. Signature. (Eng.)

MARKET OVERTON (co. Rutland).

[R. 68462] 773. Exemplification of a plea by Edward Bennett against Jonathan Johnson. May 10, 1703. Presented by Mrs. Toller.

ASHLEY (co. Chester).

774. Lease by Sir William Meredith of Henbury, Bt., to William Whitelegg of Ashley, tanner. Dec. 31, 1753. (Eng.)

HENBURY (co. Chester).

[R. 71277] 775. Extent of the manor of Henbury "taken by Richard Harpur." Sept. 6, 1558. One skin. (Eng.). Presented by P. Culverwell Brown, esq., F.S.A.

[R. 62414] 776-913. Presented by Lord Stanley of Alderley in April, 1927. With the deeds is a nine-page report on the collection by R. Stewart-Brown, esq. Nos. 776-813 concern the Jodrells and their property in Yeadsley-cum-Whaley, etc., Nos. 814-840 the Tatton lands in Northenden, and Nos. 841-913 the Winningtons and their lands in and near Northwich. A number of the latter group are concerned with salt houses.

YEARDSLEY-CUM-WHALEY (co. Chester).

776. Quitclaim by Nicholas, son of Thomas de Sudale, to Walter de Chinle of a fourth part of his land in Weile which his father held. "*Testibus Roberto de Dunes, Beneyt del coudrei, Henrico de Hurz, Adam de Hurz (?) Johanne de Bucstanes et aliis.*" n.d.

777. Grant by Agnes, daughter of William Buggeknaue, to William Joudrell of lands in Dysteslegh. Jan. 8, 1364.

778. Grant by John, son of Richard de Sutton, to William Oliver and Helen, his wife. Aug. 10, 1366. Seal, worn.

779. Quittance by Richard, son of John de Radeclife, and John, his brother, to William Joudrell, James, son of John de Legh, Robert, son of Robert de Legh, and Robert, son of Geoffrey del Holt. June 24, 1369. Seal fragment.

780. Lease by John, son of Richard de Sutton, to Benedict de Asheton and Joan, his wife. Oct. 31, 1372.

781. Quitclaim by the same to Benedict de Asshton. July 8, 1374.

782. Grant by the same to the same. July 10, 1374. Seal.

783. Indenture between Benedict de Asshton and John, son of Richard de Sutton. July 11, 1374. Seal fragment. (French, partly illegible.)

784. Grant by Benedict de Ashton to John del Scawe and John de Heppals, chaplains. Feb. 6, 1374/5.

785. Grant by the same to the same. Feb. 6, 1374/5. (French.)

786. Grant by Benedict de Asshton to William Olyver of Waylegh. Sept. 20, 1378.

787. Quitclaim by William de Thornyleghe to Adam Olyver. Oct. 19, 1393. Seal: a stag.

788. Grant by John del Shagh and John de Hephals, chaplains, to Roger Jovderell. Oct. 29, 1397. Two seals: (a) Figure, with arms and legs outstretched, under canopy; (b) *W*.

789. Powers of attorney from the same to Benedict de Asshton to deliver seisin to Roger Jovderell. Oct. 29, 1397. Two seals, as above.

790. Quitclaim by the same to Roger Jovderell. Oct. 30, 1397. Two seals, imperfect.

791. Lease by Agnes de Bradshagh to Roger Jovderell, her son, of her manor of Hawkeshurst and other dower lands in co. Chester. Mar. 11, 1399.

792. Quitclaim by Enota, wife of Adam Olever, to Roger Jovderell. Apr. 11, 1400. Seal fragment.

793. Grant by Adam Olever to Roger Jovderell. Apr. 12, 1400. Seal fragment.

794. Lease by Roger Jovderell to Thomas Henreson and Cecilia, his wife. Apr. 14, 1400. Seal.

795. Quittance by Benedict de Asshton to Roger Jovderell. May 4, 1400.

796. Quitclaim by the same to Roger Jovderell and Joan, his wife. May 10, 1400.

797. Quittance by Benedict de Asshton and William del Grenes to Roger Jovderell, Thomas Henreson of Waylegh, John de Shalcross, the elder, and Richard de Bredbury, the younger. May 3, 1401. Two seals in black wax: *R*; coronet, etc.

798. Quittance by Robert del Dovnes to Roger Jovderell and other collectors of the township of Hurdesle Waylegh, for 12s. 5d., being part of the subsidy granted to the Prince of Wales. July 10, 1401.

799. Powers of attorney from William de Bagelegh, Gregory Broune, and William Grocok, chaplains, to Thomas, son of Henry de Waylegh, to deliver seisin to Roger Jovderell. Dec. 24, 1401. Seal in red wax: *W*.

800. Powers of attorney from the same to Thomas, son of Henry de Waylegh, and Richard de Shore to deliver seisin to Roger Jovderell and Joan, his wife. Dec. 22, 1402.

801. Quittance by Roger Jovderell to Peter de Pole and Thomas Wade. Nov. 25, 1404. Seal.

802. Record of the Hallmote held at Macclesfield before Sir Robert de Legh, kt., locum tenens of Sir John de Stanley, kt., steward of Macclesfield, of a surrender by John Togod of Shryglegh to Roger Jovdrell and Joan, his wife. Mar. 12, 1408. "*per me Willelmum Radclyff militem*." Seal. Endorsed: "*Sept. 30th 1663. Shewed forth at a Com. on y^e behalfe of Edmund Jodrell Esq^r the day and yeare aboves^d before us Com^{rs}. Rob^{te} Stofolte (?), Tho : Jackson.*"

803. Powers of attorney from Sir John de Asshetonn, kt., Nicholas de Asshetonn and Richard de Bredbury of Ollersete to Roger de Mottrum and William de Stanley to deliver seisin to Roger de Jovderell and Joan, his wife. Aug. 15, 1411. Seal fragment.

804. Indenture between John, son of John de Sutton of Sutton near Macclesfeld, and Reginald de Dounes of the one part, and Roger Joudrell of the other part, relating to the marriage of George, son of Roger, and Matilda, daughter of John. June 26, 1414. Two seals: *B : S*.

805. Quitclaim by Sir John de Asshetonn, kt., Nicholas de Asshetonn and Richard de Bredbury to Roger Jovderell and Joan, his wife. July 28, 1414.

806. Lease by Roger Jovderell to Thurstan del Wode of lands in Dysteslegh. Nov. 11, 1416. Seal, imperfect.

807. Quitclaim by Ralph del Hyde of Ollersete (co. Derby) to Roger Jovderell of Urdeslegh. Oct. 7, 1417.

808. Lease by Roger Jovderell to Thomas Shalcros, tailor (*cissor*). Feb. 5, 1419. Seal.

809. Lease by Roger Jovderell to John Turnour. Feb. 5, 1419. Seal.

810. Lease by the same to William del Bernes. Nov. 10, 1420.

811. Receipt from Sir William Meryng, kt., late Sheriff of Notts and Derby, to Nicholas Chaudrell, gent., for £10, being issues of a plea between Sir Edmund Trafford, kt., and Margaret, his wife, plaintiffs, and Agnes Assheton. Jan. 20, 1508. (Eng.)

812. Bond of the same to Nicholas Jawderell. Feb. 17, 1508. Seal fragment.

813. Note by a goldsmith concerning a gold chain. May 15, 1598. (Eng.)

NORTHENDEN, etc. (co. Chester).

814. Grant by Robert, son of Adam de Baggelegh, to Sir William de Baggelegh, kt., and Roesia, his wife, of land in Nortwourthin and Kene-wourthey, called Salterres hull. June 11, 1335.

815. Grant by William, son of Robert de Tatton of Wythynshagh, to Robert de Radclyf of Meller and Margaret, his wife, of land in Cheshire. Oct. 28, 1409. Seal fragment.

816. Record "*to alle maner of men and Wymmen*" of the seisin by Robert of Radclyff, "*in y^e lyff of Robyn of Tatton of Kenworthaye y^e alder,*" of a "*parcell of lond y^e quech is cald Yscherbyzthe lyinghe in y^e toun of Kenworthaye.*" Apr. 9, 1420. Seal. Endorsed "*C. 39 E. 8H5.*" (Eng.)

817. Grant by Cristofer Bradley and John Bradley, his son, to James Hall, parson of the church of Northerden. Nov. 15, 1486. Seal fragment.

818. Grant by Margery, daughter and heiress of Nicholas Legh, late of Northen, to James Hall, rector of the church of Northen, John, son of Sir William Bothe, kt., Richard Legh of Baguley, tailor, and Robert Legh of Tympurley. July 21, 1487.

819. Grant by James Hall, rector of the church of Northen, John, son of Sir William Bothe, kt., Richard Legh of Baguley, tailor, and Robert Legh of Tympurley to Margery, daughter of Nicholas Legh, late of Northen. July 22, 1487.

820. Counterpart of the same. Three seals, very worn.

821. Grant by Henry Mason of Hokenhall Torket, co. Notts., to James Hall, rector of the church of Northenden; of land in Baguley. Aug. 6, 1489.

822. Powers of attorney from William Tatton to John Tatton and Ralph Ardern to receive seisin from Richard Mascy of Grafton and Peter Leycestre of land in Assheley, commonly called Pygley. Dec. 11, 1489.

823. Bond by Robert Vawdrey to Robert Tatton. Sept. 27, 1492.

824. Thomas Byrkhened appointed attorney by Richard Cotton and Margaret, his wife, and Thomas Hurleton appointed by Oliver Snelston. (? 1497/8.)

825. Grant by James, son and heir of John Chauntrell, to William Tatton of Chester. Jan. 10, 1498. Seal.

826. Powers of attorney from William Tatton to James Barlowe to receive seisin from James, son of John Chauntrell. Jan. 10, 1498. Seal.

827. Powers of attorney from the same to the same to receive seisin from Roger, brother of Sir John Savage, kt., the elder, of lands, etc., called Salts-hill and Barettezfildez. July 1, 1499.

828. Grant by Roger Savage to William Tatton. July 1, 1499.

829. Quitclaim by the same to the same. July 6, 1499.

830. Quitclaim by the same to the same. Jan. 21, 1501. Seal.

831. Grant by John Shelmardyne and Edmund, his son, to William Tatton. Apr. 20, 1501. Two seals, worn.

832. Quitclaim by Margery, widow of Aymer Tailiour, one of the daughters of John Tatton, and Thomas Tailiour, her son, to Thomas Tatton. Dec. 20, 1504.

833. Deed of feoffment from Richard Mascy of Grafton, co. Chester, to William Tatton, Robert Tatton, rector of the church of Waverton, Edward Bawdon, John Dutton of Altryngham and Ralph Higson, chaplain. Apr. 28, 1505. Seal. Attached is the will of Richard Mascy. (Eng.)

834. Grant by Thomas, son of Peter Tatton, to William Tatton of Chester. July 18, 1505. Seal.

835. Quitclaim by Alicia Bent, one of the daughters of John Tatton, and William Bent to Robert Tatton, rector of the church of Waverton. Sept. 8, 1505. Two seals.

836. Quitclaim by Thomas, son of Peter Tatton, to William Tatton of Chester. Nov. 3, 1505.

837. Deed of feoffment from Ralph Davenport, citizen and alderman of Chester, to William Suthworth, clerk, Robert Tatton, parson of Waverton, Robert Harper, clerk, Thomas Hogh', and Richard Brydde, relating to lands, etc., in Chester and in Whyston, Prescote and Haydok (co. Lancs.). July 10, 1506. (Eng.) The following note is added: *M^d Margaret eldyst daughter of the above named Rauff Davenport maryed to John Tatton of Chester who had issue Robert Tatton of W^tinshawe who was in full lyfe at the Wrytyng of this underwrytten note, videlt xxiiij^{to} Junii an^o iiiij^{to} Elizabethe Regine Anglie.*

838. Grant by Hugh Blackshawe of Mobburley to Richard Davenport of Whelcroghe and Thomas Kynsyne, chaplain, of land in Mobburley. Jan. 2, 1507.

839. Indenture between Thomas Lynoin and John Tatton concerning certain fees, etc., relating to the office of Clerkship of the Exchequer of Chester. Mar. 1, 1509. (Eng.)

840. Grant by John Kenworthy of Northenden, son of Nicholas Kenworthy of Kenworthy, to Robert Tatton, clerk, and John Tatton of Chester, his brother. June 1, 1513. Endorsed: C. 242.

NORTHWICH (co. Chester).

841. Grant by Robert fitzAlmeri to Benedict, son of Hugh Citharede. "*Hiis testibus Ricardo de Perpunt tunc vicecomite Cestr', Hamone de Venablis, Gralamo de Lostoch, Ramulpho de Horton, Johanne de Aculniston, Hamone Le Bret, Willelmo de Comberbach, Johanne de Lehi, Thoraldo de Nordwich, Ricardo filio Stephani, Ricardo filio Cecilie, Henrico filio Steure, et Multis Aliis.*" n.d. Endorsed: D. 137.

842. Grant and confirmation by Robert, son of William de Winenton, to William Bigar', carpenter. "*Hiis testibus Hamundo le bret, Rogero de tofte, Galfrido Gorist Medde (?) Luc' filio Hans', Jurdano filio le cornifer, Henrico filio Heluyn, Willelmo clerico et multis aliis.*" n.d.

843. Grant by Giwyne de Wymuncham to John Scissor' of Byrun. "*Hiis testibus Dominis Thoma de Dutton, Willelmo de Boydel, militibus, Galfrido Byron, Ricardo de Lostock, Thoma fratre suo, Radulpho de Horton, Johanne de Merburi, Hugone fratre eius, Hamone de Comburbach, Galfrido Gorst, Willelmo filio suo et aliis.*" n.d.

844. Letter patent from Richard de Wybinburi to Robert de Wyninton ordering him to pay certain rents and services to Simon, the abbot, and the convent of St. Werburgh, Chester. Oct. 29, 1271.

845. Grant by Richard de Webbenburi to Robert, son of William de Wynington. "*Hiis testibus Rogero de Tofte, Roberto de Tabbewe, Ranulpho de Bexton, Rogero de Tabbewe, Hugone de Pykemere, Heleket de Pykemere, Hugone de Merston, Ran' de Horton, Ranulpho de Oxtan, Thoma de Limme, Rave de Grapenale et aliis.*" n.d.

846. Grant by Robert de Leg', son of Lyuf de Taumeleg', to Richard de Wybberbury. "*Hiis testibus Roberto de Tabbeg', Ranulpho de Bextona, Rogero de Tabbeg', Hugone de Píkemere, Helket de eadem, Hugone de Merstona, Steffano de Merstona, Thoma de Lymme, Galfrido Bolt, Ricardo Bernard' et multis aliis.*" n.d.

847. Grant and quitclaim by Margaret, daughter of Robert de Wynington, to her father. "*Hiis testibus Ricardo de Lostock, Willelmo de Bostock, Johanne de Merbury, Willelmo de Horton, Ricardo de Anderton, Stephano venatore, Randulpho de Berchinton, Simone clerico et aliis.*" n.d.

848. Grant by Robert de Weninton to Robert, his son, and Annora, daughter of Richard Starky. "*Hiis testibus Domino Thoma de Boylton, tunc Justiciario Cestr', Domino Thoma de Dotton, Domino Willelmo de Venal', Domino Ricardo de Wilbirham, Rogero de Tofte, Roberto de Moldeworh', Rogero clerico et aliis.*" n.d. Endorsed: D. 128.

849. Grant and quitclaim by Richard Starky to Robert, son of Robert de Wenynnton, and Anora, Richard's daughter. "*Hiis testibus domino Willelmo de Venables, domino Ricardo de Wilburham tunc vicecomite Cestr', Ricardo de Lostoc, Thoma fratre suo, Johanne de Merbury, Hugone fratre suo, Hamone de Comburbache, Roberto de Marescallo, Rogero clerico et aliis.*" n.d.

850. Grant by Robert de Wynynnton to Robert, his son. n.d. Endorsed: B. 118. Unfinished.

851. Grant by Thomas de Maynwaryng to Robert de Wenynnton and Margery, his wife. "*Hiis testibus Rogero de Kegworth, Rogero de Toft, Roberto de Tabelley, Ricardo de Moston, Hugone de Weloke, Willelmo capellano et aliis.*" n.d.

852. Grant by Richard, son of Robert de Wyninton by Matilda de Wilbirham, to Henry, son of Stephen de Nortwich. "*Hiis testibus Dominis Willelmo de Venablis, Radulpho de Vernon, militibus, Ricardo de Lostok, Willelmo de Horton, Ricardo de Andirton, Willelmo filio Hawisie, Radulpho filio Willelmi, Rogero clerico et multis aliis.*" n.d.

853. Grant and quitclaim by Ralph, son of Randle Donfoil, and Alicia, his wife, to Robert de Wyninton. "*Hiis testibus Domino Hugone de Dottona, Domino Willelmo de Venablis, militibus, Hugone de Merbury, Johanne fratre suo, Willelmo de Horton, Willelmo filio Hawysie, Radulpho filio Willelmi, Rogero clerico et aliis.*" n.d.

854. Lease for life by Robert de Wyninton to Hugh de Durham. "*Hiis testibus domino Hugone de Dotton, Randulpho de Berchenton, Johanne de Merbury, Hugone fratre suo, Willelmo de Horton, Stephano venatore, Johanne clerico et multis aliis.*" n.d.

855. Copies of the four following deeds :

(a) Grant by Ralph de Vernon to Matilda, daughter of Richard de Wilburham. "*Testibus Willelmo de Venables, Ricardo de Holt, Waltero de Vernon, militibus, Thoma de Lostok, Ricardo de Mascy, Willelmo de Bostok, Hugone de Lostok, clerico Hugonis (?) , Radulpho de Horton, Stephano venatore, Rogero clerico.*" n.d.

(b) Grant by Randle, son of Robert de (Winnington) to Richard de Leftewich, his brother. n.d.

(c) Grant by Robert de Wyninton the elder to Richard, son of Richard de Leftewich. n.d.

(d) Grant by John, son of Richard de Leftewich, to Richard, son of Richard, son of Richard de Leftewich. n.d.

The document is endorsed *D. 145*.

856. Agreement between Robert Wrenche and Alicia, his daughter. "*Hiis testibus Roberto de Bressy, tunc vicecomite Cestyr's, Ade de Tabbeleg', Alexandro de Bannville, Pagano de Wasteneys, Ricardo de Andirton, Rogero clerico et multis aliis.*" n.d.

857. Agreement between Pagan de Wasteneys and Margaret, his wife, of the one part, and Robert Wrenche. "*Hiis testibus Roberto de Wynington, Ran' de Merbury, Johanne de eadem, Johanne de Nova Aula, Ricardo de Anderton, Willelmo de Horton, Johanne clerico et aliis.*" n.d. Endorsed : 92^a.

858. Grant by Roger Le Hare of Northwich to Geoffrey, son of Robert de Wynington. "*Hiis testibus Roberto de Bressy, tunc vicecomite Cestris', Randulpho de Merbury, Johanne de eadem, Ricardo Starky, Galfrido Starky, Willelmo de Horton, Alano de Atton, Ricardo de eadem et aliis.*" n.d. Seal worn. Endorsed : 89^a.

859. Grant by John, son of Matthew de Bexton and Alicia, his wife, to John de Wyninton. "*Hiis testibus Ricardo de Lostok, Willelmo de Tofte, Stephano venatore, Johanne de Nova Aula, Willelmo Bate, filio Hugonis, Ricardo de Bulkelewe, Henrico filio Willelmi, Ricardo de Atton et aliis.*" n.d.

860. Grant by Robert, son of Henry del Netherton iuxta Frodesham, to Henry, son of Sydecok de Northwyco and Matilda, his wife. "*Hiis testibus Radulpho de Vernon, Hamone de Mascy, militibus, Ricardo de Foulishurst, tunc vicecomite Cestr', Rogero Toprond, Hugone filio Bate, Henrico de Croxton, Henrico capellano de Leftewych, clerico, et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

861. Grant by Lawrence, son of Thomas de Modburlegh to his brother John and his wife Anora. "*Hiis testibus Rogero de Tofte, Willelmo de Moinwaring, Roberto de Wynington, Roberto de Vernon, Rogero de Leycestr', Willelmo de Glatabroke et aliis.*" n.d. Endorsed: 110B.

862. Writ from Richard de Fowleshurst (?), sheriff of Cheshire, to Sir Richard de Wyninton, kt., to hand over land in Wymyncham to John Bouere and Milisent his wife. "*T. &c. apud Cestr' secundo die Aprilis Anno &c. primo.*" n.d. (1 Edward II. ?)

863. Quitclaim by Robert, son of Robert de Wyninton, to John, his uncle. "*Hiis testibus dominis Hugone de Dotton, Petro de eadem, Willelmo de Boydel, militibus, Ricardo de Lostoke, Johanne de Nova Aula, Johanne filio eius, Ricardo le Bret, et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, imperfect.

864. Grant by John de Neuton to John, son of Robert de Wynigton, and Alicia his wife. "*Hiis testibus Dominis Roberto de Holond, tunc Justiciario Cestrie, Radulpho de Vernon, militibus, Ricardo de Fowelishurst, tunc Vicecomite Cestyr', Roberto de Wynigton, Rogero de eadem, Rogero Starky, Rogero Taprond, Hugone le Draper, Thoma clerico et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, worn. Endorsed: 23^a.

865. Quitclaim by Elizabeth, widow of John de Wynigton the elder, to Robert de Wynigton. "*Hiis testibus Ranulpho de Horton, Johanne de Merbury, Hugone de eadem, Galfrido Starky, Ricardo filio suo, Thoma clerico et aliis.*" n.d.

866. Grant by Annora, widow of Robert de Wyninton, to John de Wyninton, her son. Mar. 29, 1311.

867. Grant by Roger, son of Robert Wrenche of Twenebrokis, to Adam, son of Cecilia de Tabbelewe, and Amicia, his wife. "*Hiis testibus Dominis Hugone de Audedeleg', tunc Justiciario Cest', Radulpho de Vernon, militibus, Ricardo de Fowelishurst, vicecomite Cestris', Roberto de Wynigton, Johanne de eadem, Willelmo de Bosco, Nicolao de Vernon, Thoma clerico et aliis.*" n.d.

868. Grant and quitclaim by Adam, son of Cecilia de Tabbeleg', and Annora, his wife, to John de Wynigton the younger and Alicia, his wife. "*Hiis testibus Roberto de Wynigton, Ranulpho de Merbury, Johanne de eadem, Ricardo Starky, Henrico de Banecroft, Ricardo de eadem, Thoma clerico et aliis.*" n.d. Two seals.

869. Final concord between John de Wyninton the younger and Alicia, his wife, of the one part, and Adam de Twenebrokes and Amicia, his wife. Aug. 9, 1317.

870. Grant by Adam de Twenebrokes and Amisia, his wife, to John de Wyninton the younger and Alicia de Twenebrokes, his wife. "*Hiis testibus Dominis Hugone de Dotton, Petro de Dotton, militibus, Johanne de Legh, Roberto de Wyninton, Thoma de Vernoun, Johanne de Nova Aula, Johanne filio eius, Galfrido Starky, Nicholao de Vernoun, Johanne clerico et aliis.*" n.d.

871. Grant by Hugh, son of Geoffrey de Norwico, to Robert, his son by Agnes, daughter of Alot de Norwico. "*Hiis testibus Alano de Atton, Henrico filio Stephani, Rogero Toprond, Henrico de Croxten, Thoma clerico et multis aliis.*" n.d.

872. Lease by Richard de Lathum to Robert de Lathum, his brother, and his wife Katherine. Oct. 28, 1320.

873. Quitclaim by Margaret, daughter of John de Wyninton the elder, to John de Wyninton the younger. June 13, 1321.

874. Grant by Margaret, daughter of John de Wynington, to Geoffrey de Wynington. "*Hiis testibus Radulpho de Vernon, Hugone de Dotton, militibus, Roberto de Wynington, Rogero Taprod', Ranulpho de Horton, Johanne clerico et aliis.*" 1323. Endorsed : 57^a.

875. Grant by John de Modburlegh and Anora, his wife, to Geoffrey de Wynington. "*Hiis testibus Willelmo de Mascy, Rogero de Tofte, Willelmo de Maynwaring, Henrico de Olreton, Johanne filio Stephani, et multis aliis.*" n.d. Endorsed : 13^a.

876. Grant and quitclaim by Roger, called Le Hare, of Northwich, chaplain, to Robert de Wininton. Jan. 29, 1323/4.

877. Grant by Matilda de Bonebur' to Robert de Wynigton. "*Hiis testibus Ricardo Dammori (de Eumary ?), Justiciario Cestr', Hugone de Dotton, Willelmo de Bodel, militibus, Rogero de Tofte, Rogero de Wynigton, Johanne de Clynton, Rogero Toprond et aliis.*" n.d.

878. Grant by Robert de Wynigton to Matilda de Bonebur'. "*Hiis testibus Ricardo Dammori, tunc Justiciario Cestr', Hugone de Dotton, Willelmo de Bodel, militibus, Rogero de Tofte, Rogero de Wynigton, Johanne de Hinton, tunc ballivo ville de Norwico et multis aliis.*" n.d.

879. Grant by Hugh, son of Hugh, son of Geoffrey de Nortwyco, to Hugh, chaplain, of Winnington. Nov. 25, 1329. Seal, worn.

880. Grant by Richard de Leftewich to John, his brother. "*Hiis testibus Dominis Willelmo de Clynton, tunc Justiciario Cestr', Hamone de Mascy, militibus, Thoma de Vernon, Ricardo de Quatecroft, Johanne de Nova Aula, Willelmo de Wyninton, Henrico clerico et multis aliis.*" n.d. Endorsed : 48^a.

881. Powers of attorney from Richard, son of Richard de Leftewyche, to William de Wynington, his uncle, to deliver seisin to Robert de Wynington and Margery, his wife. Aug. 6, 1333. Endorsed : 78^a.

882. Grant by John, son of Ralph Le Mury, to John, son of Robert de Wynington the elder. "*Hiis testibus Domino Henrico de Feraers, tunc Justiciario Cestr', Johanne de Legh, militibus, Roberto de Bulkyl' juniore, vice-comite Cestris', Rogero de Wynington, Ricardo de Bulkylegh, Rogero Toprond, Hugone le Fermon, Alano de Twenebrokes, Ricardo de Croxton, Willelmo clerico et aliis.*" n.d. Endorsed : D. 142.

883. Quitclaim by John, son of William de Wodeford, to Robert de Wynington. June 25, 1339. Seal, worn.

884. Grant by John de Cleycroft to John his son. July 26, 1343. Endorsed : D. 141.

885. Agreement between Roger de Wyninton and Richard de Wyninton. "*Hiis testibus Rogero Starky, Johanne de Wyninton, Randulpho Starky, Ricardo de Anderton, Hugone de Pikemere, Hugone clerico et aliis.*" 1344. Seal, worn. Endorsed : 28^a.

886. Grant and quitclaim by Matilda, daughter of Hugh de Bonbur', to Richard, son of Robert de Wyninton, and Agnes, his wife. "*Hiis testibus dominis Thoma de Ferror', tunc Justiciario Cestr', Johanne de Ardene, militibus, Ricardo de Bulkylegh de Norwyco, Hugone filio suo, Rogero Toprond, Johanne Eddessone, Hugone le Fermon de Norwyco et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal. Endorsed : *D. 136.*

887. Grant by Robert de Wyrhale to Robert de Wyninton. Jan. 13 (?), 1354.

888. Grant by Sir Richard de Wyninton, kt., to Thomas de Whytinton, vicar of the church of Wenerham. Dec. 21, 1354. Endorsed : *D. 130.*

889. Grant by Thomas de Whytinton, vicar of the church of Wenerham, to Sir Richard de Wyninton, kt., and Agnes his wife. Feb. 8, 1355.

890. Quitclaim by the same to the same. July 12, 1355. Endorsed : *12^a.*

891. Grant by the same to the same. May 11, 1356.

892. Grant by Robert de Wyrhale to Robert de Wyninton. Aug. 23, 1357.

893. Grant by Richard de Bulkylegh to Robert Raymound, chaplain. Sept. 25, 1362.

894. Grant by Robert Raymound, chaplain, to Richard de Bulkyley and Margery, his wife. Sept. 26, 1362.

895. Lease by Richard, son of Hamo le Brette of Davenham, to John Torbok. "*Hiis testibus Johanne Starky, Willelmo (B[?])atesson, Galfrido de Wynnynton et multis aliis.*" 1363/4.

896. Grant by Hugh Toprond to John de Torbok. Oct. 3, 1368.

897. Bond of John de Bulkelegh to Hugh Le Paver, Rogero de Nomptwich and Robert fitzThomas. June (5 ?), 1380. Endorsed : *D. 144.*

898. Quitclaim by John, son of Alicia Croune, to Geoffrey Tracy and Margery, his wife. Sept. 24, 1385. Seal, worn. Endorsed : *98^B.*

899. Grant by John de Torboc of Northwich to Richard Greneok'. Jan. (14 ?), 1386.

900. Quitclaim by Agnes, daughter of Richard de Leftewyche, to Sir Richard de Wyninton, kt. Oct. 28, 1393. Seal.

901. Faculty from John, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, to Sir Richard Wynnynton, kt., and Emma, his wife, to appoint family chaplains. Jan. 7, 1398/9. Seal fragment. Endorsed : *87^a.*

902. Grant by Robert de Are, chaplain, to Alan Thomkynson of Northwich. Mar. 31, 1407. Seal.

903. Powers of attorney from Emma del Bothe to John Hugynson of Alsager to deliver seisin to Robert, son of Sir Richard de Wyninton, kt. Feb. 15, 1412. Seal fragment. Endorsed : *54^a.*

904. Indenture between Sir Richard de Wyninton, kt., Robert de Wyninton, his son, John, son of John Pygot, and Joan his wife, of the one part, and Sir Thomas Danyel, kt., son of Mr. Thomas Danyel, of the other

part, concerning the marriage of Isabel de Rixton, daughter of the said Joan and of John de Rixton, and Thomas, son and heir of the said Sir Thomas, son of Mr. Thomas. Oct. 2, 1413. Seal, imperfect. Endorsed: 46^a. (French.)

905. Receipt by Thomas Danyel from Robert de Wynnynton of twenty marks for the marriage of Thomas, son and heir of the former. July 6, 1415. Seal. Endorsed: 47^a.

906. Grant by Robert, son of Sir Richard de Wynnynton, kt., to William de Gropenale and William de Wytton, chaplains. Mar. 23, 1426/7. Endorsed: 34^a.

907. Grant by William de Bulkley of Ayton to Stephen le Smyth, chaplain, and William del Ree. May 1, 1426. Seal fragment.

908. Receipt of Ralph Grosvenour, to Richard Wynnynton and Katherine his wife, one of the daughters of the late Robert Grosvenour. July 13, 1472. Endorsed: 88^a.

909. Grant by Richard Wynnynton to Hamo Hassall. Jan. 12, 1482.

910. Final concord between William, Bishop of Lincoln, Lawrence Dutton, Lawrence Merbury and John Dolan, plaintiffs, and Richard Wynnynton. June 20, 1503. Endorsed: 103^B.

911. Bond of Lawrence Merbury of Merbury to Philip Egerton, Roger Maynwaring, and Thomas Smyth of Chester, merchant. July 15, 1507. Seal. Endorsed: 119^B.

912. Quitclaim by John Alkok, Elena his wife, James Clona and Margery, his wife, to John Werberton, kt. July 25, 1520. Endorsed: D. 126.

913. Sale by Lawrence Wynnigton of the Middle Temple, London, John Booth and Lawrence Booth, both of Twernlowe, co. Chester, and John Leadbeater of Church Holme, co. Chester, of the one part, and Ralph Nickson of Northwich, butcher. Oct. 9, 1650. Two seals, worn.

[R. 71900] 914-1262. Acquired with the Piozzi-Thrale MSS. from Mrs. R. V. Colman in January, 1931. For other MSS. and papers see Tyson, *Unpublished Manuscripts, Papers, and Letters of Dr. Johnson, Mrs. Thrale and their friends* in the *Bulletin* of the J.R.L., vol. xv. (1931), pp. 467-488. Many of the deeds concern the Salusbury family, of which Mrs. Thrale was a member. A number of documents have endorsements in the hand of Dr. Johnson, who evidently explored these papers.

BACHYGRAIG, GRAIG, etc. (Tremeirchion, co. Flint).

914. Grant by Thomas Salusbury the younger, to Thomas, son of Richard Billinge. June 30, 1490.

915. Lease by Thomas, son and heir of Rawlyn Byllynge, to Thomas, son of Sir Thomas Salesbury, kt. Jan. 2, 1507. (Eng.)

916. Letters patent of King Henry VIII. to Peter Motton. June 1, 1531. Great Seal.

917. Grant by Thomas Conway of Nant and John ap William ap John to Thomas, son of Thomas Byllynge, in consideration of his marriage with Johanna verch Gruff' ap Thomas. Feb. 11, 1550.

918. Letters patent of King Edward VI. to John Davies. Apr. 18, 1553. Great seal, worn.

919. Sale by Rowlinge Billinge of Bagcheggrig, Margaret, his wife, and Elyn Billinge, widow, to Harry Barker and Jeun ap Richard of Denbigh. Oct. 1, 1559. (Eng.)

920. Counterpart of the same.

921. Bond of the same to the same. Oct. 1, 1559.

922. Assignment of lease by Thomas Davies of St. Albans, co. Hereford, to Thomas Bilinge the elder, free tenant of the towns of Graik and Baghegraik. Oct. 2, 1559. Cancelled. (Eng.)

923. Grant by Ralph (otherwise Rowlinge) Byllinge, to Henry Vaughan Billinge, his brother. Oct. 2, 1559.

924. Sale by Rowling Billinge of Bagheggrig, Margaret his wife, and Elyn Billinge, widow, to John Payn, treasurer of the household of the Rt. Hon. Earl of Sussex, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. June 2, 1560. (Eng.)

925. Indenture between Robert Postarn and John ap Thomas Postarn, naming arbitrators in certain disputes. Jan. 10, 1562. Not executed. (Eng.)

926. Quitclaim by Rowling Bilinge to Henry Barker and Jevain ap Richard. Oct. 1, 1562.

927. Sale by Rowlinge Byllinge and Margaret, his wife, to Richard Clough of London, mercer. June 3, 1563. (Eng.)

928. Bond of Rowling Billinge, Margaret, his wife, Robert, son of Sir Roger Salesbury, kt., Richard Myddelton of Gwaynynock, co. Denbigh, John Salesbury of Devorben, Roger Fletcher of Denbigh, and Henry Billinge the younger of Graig, to Richard Clough. June 3, 1563. Seals and fragments.

929. Grant by Rowling Byllinge and Margaret, his wife, to Richard Clough. Sept. 29, 1564.

930. Surrender by Rowling Byllinge to the same. Sept. 30, 1564. (Eng.) Seal fragment.

931. Bond of Henry Barker and Jevan ap Richard to the same. Sept. 30, 1564. (Eng.)

932. Exemplification of a final concord between Richard Clough of the one part, and Rowland Byllinge and Margaret, his wife. June 14, 1567.

933. Sale by Robert, son of Thomas Postarn of Bachegrayg, and Alice, his wife, to William Clough of Denbigh. Jan. 10, 1569/70. (Eng.) Seal fragments.

934. Receipt of the same to the same. Sept. 20, 1571. (Eng.)

935. Grant by Robert Gethin of Botvarry to John Thomas ap Thomas of Kellyloveday, co. Flint. Nov. 2, 1573.

936. Bond of Thomas Vaughan Billinge of Demerchion to John Hughes the elder. Dec. 8, 1573. Old No. 31.

937. Indenture between William Clough of Denbigh, of the one part, and Roger, a son of the late Sir John Salusbury, kt., and of the Lady Jane his wife, concerning the marriage of Roger and Anne, a daughter of the late Richard Clough, merchant, of London. Oct. 30, 1582. Seal, worn. (Eng.) Old No. 39.

938. Sale by John Hughes of Skeiveoke, to Thomas Vaughan Billinge. Oct. 3, 1586. Seal.

939. Final concord between David Massie, William Ball, and Peter Middleton, of the one part, and Roger Salusbury and Anne his wife. Sept. 18, 1587.

940. Bond of Peter ap Harry Gruffith, Henry ap Robert ap Hugh of Baghegraige, Robert ap Robert ap Rees of Bryngwynescobe, co. Flint, John Wynne ap Thomas ap Bell of Demerchion, and Hugh Billinge of Botvarry, to Roger Salusbury. Jan. 13, 1591/2. Seal, and seal fragments. (Eng.)

941. Release by Peter ap Harry Gruffith of Tre Lan, co. Montgomery, to Roger Salesbury. Jan. 14, 1591/2. Seal, worn.

942. Bond of Henry Vaughan Billinge of Graig, Thomas ap Roger of Demerchion, Roger Wynne ap David Lloyd of Demerchion, and William ap Thomas Lewis of Botvarry, to John Williams, clerk. Apr. 5, 1592.

943. Release by Henry Vaughan Billinge of Graig, Thomas Billinge, clerk, William Billinge, Erasmus Billinge, Henry Billinge and Richard Billinge, sons of the said Henry Vaughan Billinge, to John Williams of Graig, clerk. Sept. 30, 1592.

944. Release by the same to the same. Oct. 1, 1592.

945. Bond of David Lloyd ap Gruffith ap John of Graig, John ap David Lloyd, Thomas Gruffith of Cayrwys, co. Flint, M.A., and William ap David Lloyd of Mayneva, to Roger Salesbury, esq., Sept. 29, 1593. Two seals, worn.

946. Release by David Lloyd ap Gruffith ap John of Graig, and John ap David Lloyd, his son, to Roger Salesbury. Sept. 29, 1593.

947. Sale by John Postarn of Bachegrayg to Roger Salesbury. Feb. 12, 1597/8. Seal, worn.

948. Bond of the same to the same. Feb. 12, 1597/8. Seal fragment.

949. Assignment of the tithe of corn and grain in Graig by Thomas Birchinsha of Demerchion to Thomas Birchinsha of Mayneva, clerk, his son. June 20, 1599. An endorsement records a further assignment, by the son, to John Salusbury of Bachegraig. Apr. 4, 1623. Old No. 35. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

950. Quitclaim by Richard ap Robert of Tre yr graig and Dowce, his wife, to Roger Salusbury. Sept. 6, 1599.

951. Sale by Elizabeth Benett, widow, of Halkine, co. Flint, and her son Hugh Davies, otherwise Hugh ap David ap Gruffith ap Hoell of Halkine, to Roger Salesbury. Feb. 21, 1600/1.

952. Bond of the same to the same. Feb. 21, 1600/1. Two seals and fragment.

953. Release by the same and Fulk Davies, otherwise Fulk ap David ap Gruffith ap Howell of Halkin, brother of Hugh, to the same. Sept. 4, 1601. Two seals, worn. Document imperfect. (Eng.)

954. Sale by Hugh Jones of Kelliloveday to Roger Salusbury. May 14, 1603.

955. Bond of Hugh Jones, Robert ap William ap John Thomas of Kelliloveday and Hugh Lewis David of Axton Issa, co. Flint, to Roger Salusbury. May 14, 1603. Seal fragments.

956. Quitclaim by Lewis Gruffith of Chester, tanner, to Roger Salusbury. Oct. 30, 1606.

957. Indenture between John ap Robert Posterne of Bachegraig and Thomas ap John ap Robert, his son, of the one part, and John ap Robert ap John ap Rees of Bodeygan and Hugh Gruffith ap Edward of Demerchion, concerning the marriage of the said Thomas and Elizabeth, his wife, daughter of Margaret Evans, widow, and sister of the said John ap Robert ap John ap Rees. May 8, 1609. Two seals. (Eng.)

958. Grant by Harry Vaughan Billinge of Demerchion and Thomas and Henry Billinge, his sons, to Thomas Rogers of Demerchion and John Bingley of Broughton, co. Flint, trustees for the children of Harry Vaughan Billinge. July 12, 1609. Seal fragments. (Eng.)

959. Bond of Thomas ap John ap Robert Postarne, John ap Robert Postarne and Peter ap Harry ap Robert ap Hugh to Hugh ap John Wynne. Sept. 25, 1610.

960. Bond of John ap Robert Postarne, Thomas ap John ap Robert Postarne, gentlemen, Robert ap John ap John ap Jeuwan, William ap John Lloid, yeomen, and Peter Thomas of Demirchion, gentleman, to Evan ap John ap Roger of Botvarry. Oct. 5, 1610.

961. Sale by John Williams of Graig, clerk, to Thomas Billinge, clerk. Sept. 24, 1612.

962. Bond of the same to the same. Sept. 24, 1612.

963. Lease by Thomas Billinge to John Williams. Sept. 25, 1612. (Eng.)

964. Bond of John Price of Reyllong, co. Flint, to John Salusbury of Bachegraig, gentleman. Nov. 30, 1619. Seal fragment.

965. Bond of Roger Salusbury of Bachegraig, esq., to his son, John Salusbury, gentleman. Nov. 16, 1620. Seal, imperfect.

966. Sale by Thomas Billinge of Westkerbie, clerk, and William, his son, to John Salusbury of Bachegraig, esq. Sept. 14, 1621. Seal fragments.

967. Sale by Thomas ap John Postern of Bachegraig and John Thomas, his son, to Thomas ap Ellis, yeoman, of Henllan, co. Denbigh. Feb. 8, 1629/30. Two seals, worn.

968. Bond of the same, together with Fulk Rutter of Bryngwyn Escob, to the same. Feb. 8, 1629/30. Seal fragments.

969. Sale by John Thomas, eldest son of Thomas ap John Posterne, to John Salusbury, esq., May 10, 1636. Seal fragment. (Eng.)

970. Release and warranty by the same to the same. May 11, 1636. (Eng.)

971. Sale by the same to the same. May 14, 1636. (Eng.)

972. Bond of Thomas ap John Postern and John Thomas, his son, to John Salusbury. June 4, 1636. Seal fragments.

973. Sale by the same to the same. June 4, 1636. Seal, fragment, (Eng.)

974. Bond of Thomas ap Ellis of Henllan to John Salusbury, gentleman. June 7, 1636. Seal, worn.

975. Indenture between Thomas ap John Postern and John Thomas, his son, of the one part, and John Salusbury, concerning the levying of a fine. Sept. 20, 1636. Seal, worn, and fragment. (Eng.)

976. Sale by Anne Hughes of Dimerchion, widow, to Ales Hughes of Bachegraig, widow. Feb. 18, 1636/7. Seal fragment. (Eng.)

977. Sale by Ales Hughes, widow, to John Salusbury, son of John Salusbury, esq. Mar. 10, 1636/7. (Eng.)

978. Sale and quitclaim by the same to the same. Mar. —, 1636/7. Not executed. (Eng.)

979. Lease by Anne Hughes, widow, to John Salusbury. Mar. 10, 1636/7. (Eng.)

980. Bond of the same to the same. Mar. 10, 1636/7.

981. Sale by Ales Hughes, widow, to John Salusbury, son of John Salusbury, esq. Mar. 15, 1636/7. (Eng.)

982. Lease by John Salusbury the elder and John, his son, to Robert Whitley of Aston and Edward Williams of Carwedvynyth, of lands, etc., in Flint, Denbigh, Carnarvon, etc. Sept. 13, 1637. (Eng.)

983. Agreement between John Salusbury the younger of Bachegraig and William Norris, of Speake, co. Lancaster. June 29, 1639. Seal imperfect. (Eng.)

984. Counterpart of the same.

985. Lease by Margaret Parry of Graig, widow, to John Salusbury. Nov. 1, 1642. Seal worn. (Eng.)

986. Letters patent of Charles I granting a special pardon to John Salisbury of Bachegraig, esq. Mar. 9, 1644. Great Seal, worn.

987. Lease by John Salisbury to Thomas Ravenscroft of Bretton and Robert Whitley of Aston. Feb. 28, 1654/5. Not executed. (Eng.)

988. Lease by John Salusbury of Bachegraig, esq., to his grandson, John Salusbury, gentleman. Mar. 27, 1655. Seal. (Eng.)

989. Bond of John Salusbury of Bachegraig, esq., and John Salusbury, his son, to David Pennant of Bighton, esq. Sept. 17, 1662.

990. Bond of John Salesbury of Bachegraig, esq., Piers Pennant of Bighton, esq., and Charles Lloyd of Llannarmon, to Sarah Whyte of Plase-newyth. Apr. 1, 1681. Cancelled.

991. Heads of an agreement between Mary Salusbury of Bachegraig, widow, of the one part, and William Parry of Dymerschion, yeoman, and Catherine Thomas of Dymerschion, spinster. Oct. 12, 1696. (Eng.)

992. Articles of agreement for the sale of timber between Thomas Salusbury of Bachygraig and Nathaniell Ashbrooke of Chester, wheelwright. Jan. 27, 1709/10. (Eng.)

993. Bond of Nathaniel Ashbrooke and Thomas Rutter of Chester to Thomas Salusbury. Feb. 20, 1709/10.

994. Agreement as to the sale of timber between the same and the same. Feb. 20, 1709/10. (Eng.)

995. A further agreement between the same and the same. June 1, 1710. (Eng.)

996. Bond of Lucy Salusbury of Bachegregg, widow, Mary Salusbury of the same, widow, and Norfolk Salusbury of the same, to Thomas Jones of Lleweny Green in the parish of Henllan. Mar. 6, 1715/6. Torn.

997. Copy of a mortgage by Catherine Williams (otherwise Thomas) of Comb., co. Flint, widow, and her son, William Williams of Comb., to Rowland Jones of Whitford, yeoman. Sept. 27, 1723. Not executed. (Eng.)

998. Bond of Lucy Salusbury, widow, and her son, John Salusbury, to Robert Hughes of Halkin. July 17, 1729.

999. Bond of the same to Hugh Vaughan of Denbigh, joiner. Jan. 15, 1731/2.

1000. Lease by John Salusbury of Bachegraig Hall, to James Conway of Cotton Hall, co. Denbigh. Mar. 3, 1734/5. (Eng.)

1001. Indenture tripartite between John Salusbury of Bachygraig of the first part, James Conway of Cotton Hall, of the second part, and William Myddelton of Denbigh of the third part. Mar. 4, 1734/5. (Eng.)

1002. Mortgage by John Salusbury to Robert Jones of Kefn in Wickwer (co. Denbigh). Aug. 26, 1735.

1003. Bond of John Salusbury of Bachegraig and Norfolk Salusbury of Plaseyward, to John Jones of Nant. Aug. 19, 1736. (Eng.)

1004. Bond of John Salusbury to Sir Robert Salusbury Cotton of Lleweny. Feb. 28, 1736/7. (Eng.)

1005. Powers of attorney from John Salusbury to Mr. Richard Marriot, Mr. Thomas Lloyd and Mr. Daniel Dandy (?), attorneys of the court of the Exchequer at Westminster, in an action of debt on a bond at the suit of Martha Howell of Great Ormond Street in the county of Middlesex, widow. May 28, 1737. (Eng.)

1006. Bond of John Salusbury to Martha Howell. May 28, 1737. (Eng.)

1007. Bond of John Salusbury to William Owen of Landshipp, co. Pembroke. Jan. 16, 1737/8. (Eng.)

1008. Indenture quadripartite between John Salusbury of Bachegraig, esq., eldest son of the late Thomas Salusbury of Bachegraig, and Lucy his

wife, who was the eldest son of the late Thomas Salusbury of Llanmwynch, esq., who was the son and heir of the late John Salusbury of Bachegraig and Mary his wife, and Lucy Salusbury, widow of Thomas Salusbury, father of the John Salusbury of the indenture, which Lucy was one of the three daughters of John Salusbury, late of Bachegraig, esq., eldest brother of the said Thomas Salusbury, the grandfather of the John Salusbury, party to the indenture, and the eldest son and heir of John Salusbury the greatgrandfather, of the first part, Hester Maria Cotton of the parish of Saint George, Bloomsbury, spinster, of the second part, Robert Wynn of Plas Newydd, co. Denbigh, and Hugh Owen of the Woodhouse, co. Salop, Doctor in Physic, of the third part, and William Boycott of Uppington, co. Salop, and Conway Whithorne of the Inner Temple, London, gentleman, of the fourth part concerning the intended marriage of John Salusbury of the indenture and the said Hester Maria Cotton. Feb. 13, 1738/9. (Eng.)

1009. Bond of John Salusbury to James Conway of Cotton Hall. Feb. 26, 1737/8. (Eng.)

1010. Lease by John Salusbury, esq., formerly of Bachegraig, now of Charles Street, St. James's Square, Westminster, to Elizabeth Mostyn of Denbigh, spinster. June 2, 1752. (Eng.)

1011. Release and appointment by way of mortgage from the same to the same. June 3, 1752. (Eng.)

1012. Bond of John Salusbury of Bachegraig and the Hon. Sir Thomas Salusbury, kt., Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, to Elizabeth Mostyn of Denbigh, spinster. June 3, 1752.

1013. Lease by Elizabeth Mostyn and John Salusbury to Sir Thomas Salusbury of Doctor's Commons, London, kt., brother of the said John. Aug. 19, 1755.

1014. Notebook, on the cover of which is written *Bachegrage Estates Valued by Rob^t Griffiths, 1772*; 16 pages of text. Other contents have the following headings: *A Rental of Bachegrage Estates in the Parish of Dimerchion, Mich., 1774* (p. 13); *A Rental of the Estate and Chief Rents &c. in the Town of Denbigh, 1774* (p. 14); *A copy of a Rental of the Estate in Denbigh Town, July 28th 1682* (p. 15); *Rent due from Lady Salusbury to Henry Thrale Esq^r for Bachegrage, & Tythe of y^e Township* (p. 16. For the years 1761-1774); and *Seats in Dimerchion Church belonging to Henry Thrale, Esq^r*. (p. 16).

1015. *Arrears due from Bachegrage Tenants, Midsum^r 1773. Whereof E(dward) B(ridge) sent M^{rs} Thrale a copy. July 25th, 1773, by Post.* 1 p.

1016. *Wood Lands in Bachegrage Demesne part inclosed from the Arrable and Pasture Lands. Survey'd April 1777, p^r Sam^l Minshull.*

1017. Lease by Hester Lynch Piozzi of Brynbella, co. Flint, to John Rees of Moor side in the parish of Hope, farmer, and Samuel Rees the elder, of Moor side, farmer. Nov. 29, 1810. (Eng.)

BODERWOG, ABERWHEELER, etc. (co. Denbigh).

1018. Sale by Richard ap John ap Llew' of Llancanhauall, co. Denbigh, to Sir John Salusbury, kt., and Jane, his wife. Jan. 4, 1576. Seal, imperfect.

1019. Indenture between Jane, widow of Sir John Salusbury of Llewenev, of the one part, and Sir George Calveley, of the Leye, co. Chester, kt., Edward Norres of Speke, co. Lancs., and David Massye of Broxton, co. Chester, concerning Roger, son of the late Sir John Salusbury and the said Jane. Apr. 6, 1584. (Eng.)

1020. Indenture between the same and the same concerning Roger Salesbury. Jan. 11, 1586. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1021. Grant by the same to Roger Salesbury, her son. July 30, 1586. (Eng.)

BODFARI, etc. (co. Flint).

1022. Grant by Sir John Salusbury of Llewenev, kt., to Roger Salusbury, one of his younger sons. Feb. 6, 1570/1. (Eng.)

1023. Lease by Robert Salusbury Cotton of Llewenev to Robert Davies of Pistill, in the parish of Bodfarry. Jan. 8, 1774. (Eng.)

1024. Lease by the same to John Jones of Tyddyn Ucha in the parish of Bodfarry. Dec. 2, 1774. (Eng.)

1025. Lease by Henry Thrale of the Borough of Southwark to Samuel Johnson of the parish of Saint Dunstan in the West, London, Doctor of Laws, and John Cator of Beckenham, for one year. Sept. 27, 1777. (Eng.).

1026. Indenture between Henry Thrale, of the Borough of Southwark, and Hester Lynch Thrale, his wife, of the one part, and Samuel Johnson of the parish of Saint Dunstan in the West, London, Doctor of Laws, and John Cator of Beckenham of the other part, relating to the settlement of an estate purchased from Sir Robert Salusbury Cotton. Sept. 28, 1777. (Eng.)

BYFLEET (co. Surrey).

1027. Lease from Richard Pickman, one of the Captains of the town of Barwicke, to Thomas Inwood of Waybridge, co. Surrey, yeoman, of warren of conies in Byflete and Waibridge, etc. Feb. 17, 1573. Seal. (Eng.)

CARNARVONSHIRE, etc.

1028. Indenture between the Rt. Hon. Sir William Cecil, kt., Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England and Master of the Queen's Majesty's Court of Wards and Liveries, and Thomas Sekford, Esq., Surveyor of the same Liveries, for and in the name of the Queen of the one part, and Roger Salisbury, Anne, his wife, William Wynne, and Mary, his wife, as in the right of their said wives, daughters and coheirs of the late Richard Clough, of the other part, relating to lands in the counties of Carnarvon, Denbigh and Flint. Mar. 3, 1587. (Eng.) Attached is an Extent of the lands.

1029. Sale by Roger Salusbury of Bachegraig to John Salusbury, his son, of messuages and lands in Tydwerliogge, etc. Nov. 7, 1608.

1030. Lease by John Roberts of Henllen, yeoman, on behalf of Mary Salisbury of Bachegraig, widow, to Richard Parry and Griffith ap William Evans of Tydweylog of tithe corn, etc. Aug. 4, 1693.

1031. Sale by John Salusbury to William Anwyl of Kaudeikwyn, co. Merioneth, and Robert Lewis of Dolegelly, co. Merioneth. Mar. 1, 1738/9. (Eng.)

1032. Sale by the same to the same. Mar. 2, 1738/9. (Eng.)

CHESTER.

1033. Bond of Robert Fletcher of Chester, Owen Brereton of Baras, co. Denbigh, and John Cottingham of Ledsham, co. Chester, to Richard Clough of London, mercer. May 4, 1566. 3 seals, worn. (Eng.)

CILOWEN (Waun, St. Asaph, co. Flint). See KILOWEN.

CLICUDEG, CLUFFERIW, etc. (co. Denbigh).

1034. Grant by David ap Llu' ap Bady, Gwenhoyvar verch Robert ap William Rede, his wife, and Katherine verch Benet ap John, late wife of Robert ap William Rede, to John ap William ap Thomas. Sept. 12, 1516. Seal fragments.

1035. Bond of Thomas, son of the late Thomas Chaloner, to Thomas Evans of Denbigh, draper. Feb. 22, 1563/4.

1036. Quitclaim by Thomas Evans to Thomas Chaloner. Feb. 4, 1565/6. Seal imperfect.

1037. Bond of the same to the same. Feb. 4, 1565/6.

1038. Sale by Thomas, son of Thomas Chaloner, to Richard Clough of London, mercer. Feb. 9, 1565/6. Seal worn. (Eng.)

1039. Grant by the same to the same. Feb. 12, 1565/6. Seal imperfect.

1040. Lease by John Price of Rhillong, co. Flint, to Piers ap Hugh of the same, yeoman. June 7, 1611. (Eng.)

1041. Mortgage by the same to William Salusbury of Llwasocke. May 9, 1617. (Eng.)

1042. Bond of the same to John Salusbury of Bachegraig. Nov. 30, 1619. Seal fragment.

1043. Quitclaim by Fulk Salusbury the younger, of Brynmylan, co. Denbigh, to his grandfather, Fulk Salusbury the elder, of lands, etc., in Clufferiw, Prion, Segroytt and Denbigh. June 22, 1628. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1044. Sale by Fulk Salusbury of Clifferiw and Robert Salusbury, his son, to Moris ap Thomas of Clickiedeg. July 25, 1631. Seals, worn. (Eng.)

COMBE (co. Flint).

1045. Grant by Roger Williams of Rhualtt, co. Flint, to Sir John Salusbury of Llewenev, Bt., and John Salusbury the younger of Bachegraig. Oct. 4, 1679. (Eng.)

1046. Indenture between Roger Williams of Combe, nephew and heir of the late George Williams of Trecastle, co. Flint, of the first part, Anne Davies, formerly of Gwesaney, co. Flint, and now of Kanvorda, co. Salop, spinster, eldest sister of the late Robert Davies of Kannerch, co. Denbigh, eldest son of the late Mutton Davies of Kannerch, of the second part, the Rev. Thomas Jones of Abergely, D.D., and the Rev. Richard Davies of Rhiwabon, co. Denbigh, clerk, of the third part, Robert Wynne of Plasnewydd and Samuel Mostyn of Calcoett, co. Flint, of the fourth part, Thomas Jones of Kelyn, co. Flint, John Williams of Henllan, clerk, and David Williams of Lodge, co. Denbigh, Mary his wife, Gabriel Williams of Nantglyn, co. Denbigh, clerk, the said John, Mary and Gabriel being co-executors of the will of the late George Williams, of the fifth part, and Peter Jones of Kelyn, second son of the said Thomas Jones and Mary his wife, of the sixth part, relating to the marriage of Peter Jones and Mary, his wife. Oct. 18, 1728. (Eng.)

1047. Lease by Edward Pennant of Bagillt, co. Flint, to Edward Jones of Whitford, miner, of a lead mine. Feb. 21, 1738/9. (Eng.)

DENBIGH.

1048. Lease by Ralph Ravenscroft, burgess of Denbigh in Northwall, to Robert Flechar, burgess of the same. Aug. 13, 1505. Seal, worn.

1049. Counterpart of the same.

1050. Lease by Henry ap John ap Llu' Pygot to Margaret Butler, daughter of the late John Butler of Denbigh, and Richard Salesbury, her son. Sept. 1, 1525.

1051. Lease by John Salusbury, son of the late Gybbon Salusbury, to Richard Clough, burgess of Denbigh. Dec. 22, 1539. Seal. (Eng.)

1052. Lease by John Merton and Robert, his son, burgesses of Denbigh, to Thomas ap Robert ap Res of Denbigh, labourer. Apr. 18, 1543. Seal fragment. (Eng.)

1053. Lease by Richard ap John ap Llu' of Llangynhavall, co. Denbigh, to Gwenllyam verch Robert Decka, widow, of the same. Oct. 3, 1554. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1054. Bond of Rowling Billinge to William Spennie (?) and Richard Cloughe, merchant. Nov. 10, 1561. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1055. Lease by Henry Heatton to Robert, son of the late Richard Twisty. July 12, 1560. (Eng.)

1056. Bond of Thomas Chalner to Thomas Evans. Aug. 21, 1563. Seal, worn.

1057. Bond of Thomas, son of the late Thomas Chaloner, Robert Winway and Richard Dolbey to Richard Clough of London, mercer. Feb. 9, 1565.

1058. Bond of Robert, son of the late John Salusbury of Denbigh, Fulk Lloyd, otherwise Rosyndall, of Foxholes, and John Dryhurst of Denbigh, to Richard Clough. June 14, 1570. Seal fragments.

1059. Lease by William Clough of Denbigh, mercer, to Hugh Clough of the same, his brother. Oct. 1, 1572. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1060. Bond of the same, to Henry Eaton. Jan. 13, 1575/6. Seal fragment.

1061. Award between George Ravenscrofte of Bretton, co. Flint, of the one part, and Roger Salusbury of Bachegrayg, and William Wyn of Llanvayr, of the other part, by Edward Thelwall and Ralph Ravenscrofte. Oct. 28, 1589. Seal fragment. (Eng.)

1062. Quitclaim by George Ravenscrofte, and his sons, Thomas Ravenscrofte of Brodelame and William Ravenscrofte of Lyncolnes Inn, to Roger, Salusbury. Apr. 19, 1591. Seal fragments. (Eng.)

1063. Lease by Roger Salesbury and Anne, his wife, to John Edwardes of Denbigh. Aug. 16, 1596. Seal.

1064. Sale by Meredith Lloid ap John ap Gruffith Lloid of Denbigh to Rice Jones of London. Aug. 20, 1608. (Eng.)

1065. General pardon granted to Margaret Salusbury, late of Lleweny and now of Denbigh, widow. Feb. 10, 1626. Great Seal, worn.

1066. Assignment of debt and damages recovered against John Salusbury of Bachegraig by Thomas Jones of Denbigh, mercer, to Lewis Parry of Chester, ironmonger. Mar. 10, 1678/9. (Eng.)

1067. Sale by Thomas Birchinsa, late of Denbigh, to William Hughes, now Bishop of St. Asaph. Oct. 4, 1586. Seal, worn.

1068. Sale by Lucy Salusbury of Bachegraig, widow, to Ebenezer Keay of Newmarkett, co. Flint, mercer. Mar. 5, 1724/5. (Eng.)

1069. Release by the same to the same. Mar. 6, 1724/5. (Eng.)

1070. Sale by Ebenezer Key, son of the late Ebenezer Key of Newmarkett, gentleman, Margaret Key, widow and executrix of the latter, and Lucy Salusbury of Bachegraig, widow, to Roger Mostyn the elder of Kilken, co. Flint. July 28, 1729. (Eng.)

1071. Indenture tripartite between Ebenezer Key the younger, and Margaret, widow of Ebenezer Key the elder, of the first part, Roger Mostyn the elder, of Kilken, of the second part, and Lucy Salusbury of Bachegraig, widow, of the third part. July 29, 1729. (Eng.)

1072. Letters of administration from Sir Thomas Salusbury, LL.D., Vicar-General of Jonathan, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, for Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Cartwright of Llanfyllin, co. Montgomery, natural and only daughter of John Roberts, late of Denbigh, bricklayer, to administer the latter's estate. Aug. 1, 1770. (Eng.)

1073. Lease by Sir John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury, kt., to Thomas Howe of Nale Street, Denbigh, ropemaker. May 1, 1837. (Eng.)

1074. Articles of the subscribers for a free school in the town of Denbigh. n.d. (Eng.)

DYMEIRCHION (co. Flint), now TREMEIRCHION.

1075. Grant by Edward Lloit, son and heir of Tudor ap Eden Lloit, free tenant of Dymorghion, to John ap Ithell ap Blethyn, clerk. June 4, 1493.

1076. Grant by Tudor ap Bellyn ap Eden and Engharat verch Edowart ap Bellyn Lloid, his wife, to John ap Gruff Trevor. Nov. 5. Two seals.

1077. Grant by Thomas Byllynge, free tenant of Demerchion, to Elis Bylinge. Feb. 24, 1519.

1078. Quitclaim by Edward ap Gruff ap Thomas, to Thomas, son of Thomas Billing. Aug. 10, 1522. Seal, worn.

1079. Grant by Elis Bylinge to Richard Bylinge. June 28, 1528. Seal fragment.

1080. Grant by Gruff' Lloit ap Jankyng and Tanglwste verch Richard ap Ithell, to Henry ap Jeuain ap Robyn and Robert ap Jewin ap Robyn. Sept. 20, 1529.

1081. Bond of William ap John ap David ap Ithel and Thomas ap David ap William to Thomas Billynge. Sept. 21, 1536. Seal.

1082. Grant by Gregory ap John ap Ithell ap Res to Res ap David ap Ithell. Feb. 20, 1547. Seal, worn.

1083. Final concord between (.) Robyn, complainant, and Gruff' Lloid ap Jankyn Dekka and Tanglust verch Richard, his wife. Sept. 26, 1547.

1084. Quitclaim by Elis Billynge to Richard Billinge, his brother. Sept. 23, 1549. Seal.

1085. Quitclaim by John ap Gruff' Trevour of Demerchion to Maurice Birchinshawe, prebendary of Vaynoll, clerk. Mar. 12, 1550. Seal.

1086. Quitclaim by Elis Billinge to Richard Billinge. Apr. 6, 1551. Seal fragment.

1087. Quitclaim by Maurice Byrchinsha, clerk and rector of Denbigh, to Thomas Birchinsha the younger. June 4, 1551. Attached is

1087A. Powers of attorney from the same to Richard Puskyn, clerk, Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph, Peter Drihurst, David Birchinsha and Thomas, son of Robert Birchinsha. June 17, 1551. Seal.

1088. Lease by Maurice Byrchynsha, clerk, prebendary of the prebend of Vaynoll founded by the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph, proprietor of the parish church and parsonage of Dymorchyon, to Thomas Byrchynsha of Denbigh, gentleman, with the consent of Robert, Bishop of St. Asaph, and the Dean and Chapter of the same. Fragment of the Bishop's seal. (Eng.)

1089. Indenture between Gruff' Lloyd ap Jenkyn Deka, Tanglost verch Richard, his wife, John ap Gruff' lloyd, Sir John Gwyn, clerk, Elis ap Hoell, Robert ap John ap David ap Edward, and Owayn ap Res ap Jenkyn of the one part, and Henry ap Gruff' ap John of the other part, relating to the marriage of the said Henry and Agnes, daughter of Gruff' and Tanglost, and sister of the said John ap Gruff' Lloyd. May 26, 1548. Seal fragments. (Eng.)

HAND-LIST OF CHARTERS, DEEDS, ETC. 371

1090. Lease by Maurice Byrchynsha, clerk, to Thomas Byrchynsha. "the lesse" of Denbigh, of the parish church, parsonage, etc., of Dymerychyon, July 20, 1552. Seal, imperfect. (Eng.)

1091. Lease by Rowling Byllinge, to Henry Byllinge, his brother, of land in Bachegraig, etc. Feb. 28, 1555. Seal fragment. (Eng.)

1092. Bond of the same to the same. Feb. 28, 1555.

1093. Assignment of lease by Henry Byllynge the younger, to Richard Clough of London, mercer, of land in Bachegraig, etc. Oct. 28, 1563. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1094. Grant by James ap John Gruff of Hollywell and John James of Hollywell, his son, to Thomas Byrchynsha of Demerchion. Nov. 30, 1562. Seal.

1095. Sale by Lewis Billinges of Iscoïd, co. Flint, gentleman, to Henry Billinges, his brother. Oct. 8, 1566. Seal, worn.

1096. Sale by the same to the same. Oct. 8, 1566. Seal fragment. (Eng.)

1097. Bond of the same to the same. Dec. 2, 1567. Seal fragment.

1098. Sale by Henry Billinge and Lewis Billinge, sons of the late Richard Billinge of Dymerychyon, and Janet verch Res ap Lleu', widow, to William Cloughe of Denbigh, mercer. Dec. 8, 1567. Seal fragment. (Eng.)

1099. Counterpart of the same. Seal fragments.

1100. Bond of the same to the same. Dec. 8, 1567. Seal fragments.

1101. Lease by William Clough of Denbigh, mercer, to Harry, son of the late Richard Billinge, and Jonet verch Res ap Lleu', widow of the said Richard. Dec. 10, 1567. Seal fragment. (Eng.)

1102. Counterpart of the same. Seal fragments.

1103. Quitclaim by Lewis Billinge of Yscoyt to Henry Billinge, his brother. Dec. 23, 1567. Seal fragment.

1104. Bond of Janet verch Res ap Lleu' of Dymerychyon to Henry Billinge the younger. Nov. 3, 1568. Seal fragments.

1105. Sale by the same to Harry Byllynge, her son. Nov. 3, 1568. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1106. Sale by Harry Billinge the younger, Elizabeth, his wife, and Jonet verch Rys ap Lleu' ap Robin, his mother, to Richard Clough of London, mercer. May 31, 1569. Seal fragments. (Eng.)

1107. Bond of the same and Thomas Vaughan Billinge to the same. May 31, 1569. Seal fragments.

1108. Sale by Henry Billinge the younger to Richard Clough. June 4, 1569. Seal, worn.

1109. Sale by Robert Salusbury of Denbigh, gentleman, son of the late John Salusbury, esq., to William (? Richard). Clough. June 16, 1569. Seal fragment.

1110. Powers of attorney from Robert ap Thomas Postarn of Bachegrayg, to William Clough of Denbigh, to make a payment to John Thomas Gruff. Sept. 20, 1571. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1111. Quitclaim by John James, son of James ap John Gruff' of Hallywell, co. Flint, to Thomas Byrchinsha of Dymerchyon. Aug. 3, 1575.

1112. Bond of Thomas Byllynge of Dymerchyon, Robert Gethyn of Botvarrye, Hugh Peake of Llewenev, Henry ap Robert ap Hugh of Bacheggreg, Henry Byllinge of Grayg, and Hugh Byllinge of Botvarry, to Roger Salusbury of Bacheggreg. Aug. 9, 1584. Two seals and fragments.

1113. Indenture between Thomas Billinge of Dymyrchion, gentleman, Margaret, his wife, and Robert, their son, of the one part, and Roger Salusbury of Bachegrayg. Sept. 30, 1584. Two seals, worn, and fragments. (Eng.)

1113A. Counterpart of the same.

1114. Sale by Thomas Billinge and Robert, his son, to the same. Oct. 1, 1584. Seal, worn.

1115. Bond of Robert, son of Thomas Vaughan Billinge of Demyrchion, to the same. Oct. 20, 1585. Seal.

1116. Grant by John ap David Lloid to Thomas Jones, otherwise Thomas ap John ap David Lloid, his son. Oct. 10, 1587.

1117. Sale by Thomas Billinge of Demerchion and Robert, his son, to Roger Salusbury. May 15, 1590. Two seals.

1118. Bond of Thomas Billinge, Robert Billinge, Robert Geatynie of Botvarry, Henry ap Robert ap Hugh of Bachegraige, and Robert ap Robert ap Rees of Bryngwyn Escobe, to the same. May 15, 1590. Seal fragment.

1119. Grant by Thomas Vaughan Billinge to John Hughes and Robert Gethnie. May 18, 1590.

1120. Bond of William ap Harry ap J . . . ap Robyn of Demerchion, John ap William ap Harry of the same, Henry ap Thomas ap David ap Bell of the same, and Jonn' Davies, otherwise Jeuan ap David ap Jenn' ap Tudor of Bodevgan, to John ap John Thomas. Dec. 19, 1590. Seal fragments. (Eng.)

1121. Sale by Thomas Billinge of Dymirchion to Roger Salusbury. Dec. 1, 1592.

1122. Bond of the same to the same. Dec. 1, 1592.

1123. Indenture between John Hughes of Skiviok, co. Flint, Alice, his wife, Edward Hughes, his son, Thomas Billinge of Dimerghion, Margaret, his wife, Peyres ap Harry Gruff', Alice, his wife, and Thomas Peyres, his son, of the one part, and Roger Salusbury of Bachegraig. Sept. 20, 1593. Seal fragments. (Eng.)

1124. Bond of John Hughes of Skeyviocke, Edward Hughes of the same, John Hughes of Gwaynyskar, co. Flint, and Edward ap Hugh ap Rees of Treyr Castell, co. Flint, to Roger Salesbury. Sept. 29, 1593. Three seals and fragment.

1125. Sale by John Hughes and Edward, his son, to the same. Sept. 29, 1593. Two seals.

1126. Bond of Jane Billinge of London, single woman, and Lucy Billinge of the same, single woman, to Thomas Vaughan Billinge, their father. Mar. 20, 1593/4.

1127. Quitclaim by the same to the same. Mar. 20, 1593/4. Two seals, worn.

1128. Bond of Thomas Vaughan Billinge and Jane Billinge, spinster. his daughter, to Roger Salusbury. June 28, 1594. Two seals, worn. (Eng.)

1129. Grant by Thomas Vaughan Billinge to Jane Billinge, his daughter. June 29, 1594.

1130. Sale by Jane Billinge to Peter ap Thomas ap William of Dymirchion. July 1, 1594. Seal fragment.

1131. Bond of Thomas ap Harry Thomas of Demerchion, Thomas ap David Lloid of the same, and Thomas Edwardes of Demerchion, to Elizabeth verch Robert, daughter of Robert ap Robert ap Rees of Bryngwyn Escobbe, co. Flint. Jan. 16, 1595/6. Two seals.

1132. Bond of Thomas ap Harry Thomas, Thomas Edwardes and Thomas ap David Lloyd to Robert ap Robert ap Rees of Bryngwyn Escobe. Jan. 18, 1595/6.

1133. Grant by Richard ap Robert of the Grage, and Dowce, his wife, late wife of Henry Gregor of the same, to Roger Salusbury. Sept. 6, 1599. (Eng.)

1134. Grant by Thomas Burchinshaw the elder of Demerchion, clerk, to Anne Burchinshawe, widow of Fulk, his son. Sept. 28, 1600. (Eng.)

1135. Lease by Hugh ap John Wynne of Baghegraig, to Roger Salesbury. July 22, 1601. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1136. Will of William Browling of Llanhassaphe, co. Flint, clerk. Dec. 9, 1601. Probate, April 17, 1602. (Eng.)

1137. Lease by David Yale, LL.D., prebendary of the prebend of Vaynol, and "proprietarie" or parson of Demerchion, to Thomas Birchenshawe, clerk, Thomas Birchenshawe the younger, son of the late Fulk Birchenshawe, and George Yale. Mar. 1, 1603/4. (Eng.) Attached is

1138. Powers of attorney from David Yale to Rice Kinnaston of Erthig, co. Denbigh, and Thomas Humphreys of the same. Mar. 1, 1603/4. (Eng.)

1139. Bond of Henry Vaughan Billinge to Thomas Billinge, clerk. July 12, 1609.

1140. Indenture between Hugh ap John Wynne of Demerchion of the one part, and John Conway of Gwerneigrön and Bell Jones of Lleweny. Feb. 22, 1609/10. (Eng.)

1141. Sale by Thomas ap Harry Thomas de Tre yr llan in the parish of Demerchion to Hugh Gruffith ap Edward, of the same. Sept. 27, 1610. Damaged.

1142. Sale by Thomas Burchinshawe, clerk, to Robert ap David ap Howell of Demerchion. Dec. 14, 1610.

1143. Mortgage from Thomas Burchinshawe the younger to Robert Salusbury of Denbigh. Oct. 14, 1617.

1144. Lease by David Yale, LL.D., Chancellor of the diocese of Chester, to Thomas Birchenshaw. Aug. 28, 1620. Not executed. (Eng.)

1145. Grant by Roger Salusbury of Baghegraig to his son, John Salusbury, concerning the raising of money for the marriages of Roger's daughters, Grace and Ellen. Nov. 16, 1620. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1146. Bond of Thomas Billinge of Westkerbie, co. Chester, clerk, and William Billinge, his son, to John Salusbury. Sept. 14, 1621. Two seals, worn.

1147. Indenture tripartite between Edward Morgan of Goldgreave and John Humfreys of Leadbrooke of the first part, Edward Hughes of Galthog of the second part, and John Salusbury of Bachegreg of the third part. Feb. 28, 1621/2. Three seals, fragments. (Eng.)

1148. Lease by Thomas Byrchinsha of Demerchion, to John Price, of Demerchion, Piers Gruffith ap Robert of Kilowen, and Robert ap Robert ap Hugh of Demerchion. Mar. 1, 1621/2. (Eng.)

1149. Lease by the same to the same. Mar. 1, 1621/2. Cancelled. (Eng.)

1150. Sale by Edward Hughes of Galthog, Katherine, his wife, Ralph Hughes of Galthog, and Emma, his wife, to John Salusbury of Bachegraig. Aug. 1, 1622. Seal fragments. (Eng.)

1151. Sale by Robert ap Robert ap David ap Howell of Combe, co. Flint, and Robert ap Edward of Bodeigan, to the same. Feb. 20 (?), 1623/4. Injured. Seal fragment.

1152. Bond of the same to the same. Feb. 20, 1623/4.

1153. Receipt from Thomas Byrchinshawe of Dymerschion to the same. Feb. 20, 1623/4. (Eng.)

1154. Quitclaim by the same to the same. Feb. 20, 1623/4. Seal fragment. (Eng.)

1155. Lease by John Price of Demerchion, Piers Gruffith ap Robert of Kilowen, and Robert ap Robert ap Hugh, to the same. Mar. 26, 1623. (Eng.)

1156. Sale by Thomas Birchinsshawe of Dymerschion, John Price of Bryngewynescob, Robert ap Robert ap Hugh, and Peter Gruffith ap Robert of Kilowen, to the same. Apr. 1, 1623.

1157. Indenture between John Salusbury, Thomas Billinge of Westkerbie, clerk, William Billinge, his son, Thomas Salusbury of Leadbrooke, and Thomas Whitley of Aston, co. Flint, of the one part, and John Rogers of Dymerschion, gentleman, and Peter Bellice of Bryngwynescob, co. Flint, of the other part. Apr. 20, 1623. Seal fragments. (Eng.)

1158. Indenture between Thomas Birchinsshawe, Thomas Moris of Meppra, co. Flint, and Ellen, his wife, of the one part, and John Salusbury, Edward Hughes of Galthog, and Ralph Hughes of Galthog, of the other part. Apr. 20, 1623. Seal fragments. (Eng.)

1159. Bond of Thomas Birchinshawe to John Salusbury. May 1, 1623.

1160. Lease by John Salusbury to Thomas Birchinshawe. June 10, 1623. (Eng.)

1161. Mortgage by John Salusbury to Robert Jones of Coedycra, co. Flint. June 17, 1623. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1162. Lease by John Salisbury to William Salisbury of Bathymbid, co. Denbigh, Robert Ravenscroft of Broadlane, Thomas Whitley of Aston, and John Rogers of Dymerschion. July 5, 1627. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1163. Sale by the same to the same. July 4, 1627. Seal fragment. (Eng.)

1164. Sale by Peter Jones of Demerchion, yeoman, to Peter Lloyd of the same. Nov. 8, 1630. Seal, worn.

1165. Counterpart of the same.

1166. Lease by John Salusbury, to James Barnes of Demerchion, brick-layer, Elizabeth, his wife, and Margaret, their daughter. Nov. 14, 1633. (Eng.)

1167. Bond of Anne Hughes of Dimerchion, widow, to Alicia Hughes of Bachegraig, widow. Feb. 18, 1636/7.

1168. A book of 17 leaves containing copies of :

(a) Sale by John Salusbury the elder and John, his son, to Robert Whitley of Aston and Edward Williams of Carwedvynyth, co. Denbigh. Sept. 13, 1637. (Eng.)

(b) Indenture quadripartite between John Salusbury the elder of the first part, John Salusbury the younger, his son, of the second part, Sir Thomas Salusbury, Bt., and Sir Thomas Mostyn, kt., of the third part, and Robert Whitley of Aston and Edward Williams of Carwedvynyth of the fourth part. Sept. 15, 1637. (Eng.)

1169. Bond of Peter Jones, the father, yeoman, to John Salusbury. Oct. 13, 1637.

1170. Sale by the same to the same. Oct. 13, 1637. Seal.

1171. Sale by the same to the same. Nov. 10, 1637.

1172. Quitclaim by Alice verch John Thomas of Demerchion, widow of Piers Lloyd, Piers Thomas of Prestatton, yeoman, and Margaret, his wife, only daughter of the said Piers Lloyd, to the same. Nov. 13, 1637. (Eng.)

1173. Bond of the same and John ap Richard Inasmore of Demerchion to the same. Nov. 13, 1637.

1174. A roll of 18 sheets (paper) with drafts of the following deeds, incomplete, dated 1637/8.

(a) Sale by John Salusbury the elder of Bachegraig, esq., and John Salusbury, his son, to Thomas Ravenscroft the younger of Bretton, co. Flint, and Robert Whittley of Aston. (Eng.)

(b) Indenture quadripartite between John Salusbury the elder of the first part, John Salusbury, his son, of the second part, Sir Thomas Salusbury

of Llewenny, Bt., and Sir Thomas Mostyn of Kilken, co. Flint, kt., of the third part, and Thomas Ravenscroft the younger of Bretton, and Robert Whitley of Aston of the fourth part, relating to the marriage of John Salusbury the younger and Elizabeth, his wife. (Eng.)

(c) Exchange between John Salusbury the elder and John Salusbury, his son, of lands in Carnarvon, Denbigh and Flint. (Eng.)

1175. Sale by Robert Williams of Dimerchion to Hugh ap David. May 24, 1638.

1176. Bond of the same to the same. May 24, 1638.

1177. Bond of the same to John Salusbury. Apr. 20, 1639.

1178. Lease by Thomas Parry of Dimerchion to John Salusbury the elder. June 16, 1642. (Eng.)

1179. Lease by William Edwardes of Dimerchion to John Salusbury of Bachegraig, esq. Sept. 19, 1642. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1180. Sale by the same to the same. Sept. 20, 1642. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1181. Sale by John Salusbury the elder and John Salusbury the younger to Thomas Shawe of Denbigh. Mar. 17, 1656/7. (Eng.)

1182. Lease by John Salesbury to Sarah White of Plasenewyth, co. Denbigh, widow, of lands, etc., in Dimerchion, and also in Tidwallok and Nantgwnadle (co. Carnarvon). Mar. 31, 1681. (Eng.)

1183. *A Terrier of parte of the prebend of Vaynoll & the tythes & profitts thereunto belonging delivered to the Right Reverend father in God Wm. Ld Bishop of St. Asaph : 7ber y^e 13th Anno Dni 1682.* Two leaves, paper.

1184. Security by Mary Salusbury of Bachegraig, widow, to John Pennant of Mertyn vwthglan, co. Flint, Robert Williams of Llannerch, Evan Hughes of Gwengleveryd, co. Flint, Robert ap Richard of Lleweny Green, and John Jones of Bodeigan. Aug. 22, 1698. Attached is a schedule, giving a list of her husband's creditors. (Eng.)

1185. Lease by Margaret Salusbury of Bachegraig, spinster, and Lucy Salusbury, spinster, to David Roberts of Bodfarry, miller, and Hugh Lloyd of Llanrhaiader, millwright. Dec. 27, 1698. (Eng.)

1186. Bond of the same to the same. Dec. 27, 1698.

1187. Letters of administration to Lucy Salusbury, widow of Thomas Salusbury, niece of the late Pierce Pennant of Bychton, in the parish of Whitford, co. Flint, for the goods, etc., of the said Pierce. Dec. 7, 1710.

1188. Assignment in trust by Mary Salusbury of Bachegraig, widow, to Thomas Edwards of Brynford, co. Flint, and Thomas Pennant of Downing, co. Flint, of the parish church, rectory or parsonage of Dimerchion, etc. Attached is a schedule recording certain debts of the said Mary Salusbury. Apr. 28, 1711. (Eng.)

1189. Counterpart of the same.

1190. Agreement between John Myvod of Dimerchion and Jane Myvod, his mother, widow, of the one part, and John Salusbury of Bachegraig of

the other part, touching a lease to the latter of power to sink shafts for lead and copper ore, etc., in certain lands in Bachegraig. Oct. 14, 1731. (Eng.)

1191. Lease by John Myvod to John Salusbury of lands to mine for lead or copper ore. Oct. 25, 1731. (Eng.)

1192. "*Extract from the Tremeirchion Terrier.*" A memorandum on a lease from Dr. John Davies, late prebendary of Vaenol, to the same, dated Jan. 13, 1731/2. (Eng.)

1193. Lease by the Rev. John Marsden, M.A., prebendary of the prebend of Vaynol, and proprietor or parson of Dimerchion, to the same. Apr. 20, 1761. (Eng.)

1194. Lease by the same to Sir Thomas Salusbury, kt., of Offley Place, co. Hertford, LL.D., Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, brother and heir of the late John Salusbury of Bachegraig. May 10, 1764. (Eng.)

1195. Bill from John Holland to Jane Price. June 19, 1767. (Eng.)

1196. Assignment of mortgage by Jane Price of Plas in the parish of Nysfaeu, co. Carnarvon, spinster, daughter of the late Grace Price of Aelwyd ucha, co. Flint, widow, to Esther, widow of John Salusbury of Bachegraig. June 20, 1767. (Eng.)

1197. Lease by the Rev. John Marsden to Henry Thrale of the Borough of Southwark and Hester Lynch Thrale, his wife, sole niece and heir at law of the late Sir Thomas Salusbury of Offley Place. June 11, 1774. (Eng.)

1198. Bond of Gabriel Piozzi of Streatham Park, co. Surrey, to Thomas Russell of the parish of Saint Leonard, Shoreditch. Mar. 25, 1793. Settled, Apr. 25, 1798. (Eng.)

FLINT.

1199. Roll of proceedings at the Great Sessions held at Hawarden on Monday, May 5, 1567.

1200. Indenture between Thomas Evans, sheriff of the county of Flint, of the one part, and Thomas Ravenscroft, George Hope, Evan Lloyd, Robert Davies, John Salusbury, John Eyton, Robert Ravenscroft, Thomas Jones, Thomas Salusbury, Henry Lloyd, Edward Ravenscroft and other persons, electors of a knight for Parliament of the other part, concerning the election of Sir John Trevor the younger, kt. Apr. 25, 1626.

1201. Extract from a roll of proceedings at the Great Sessions held at Flint on October 16, 1637, concerning Sir Thomas Salusbury, Bt., and Sir Thomas Mostyn, kt., deforciant, and Robert Whitley, gentleman, and Idris (Edrus ?) Williams, gentleman.

1202. Transcript from a roll of proceedings at the Great Sessions held at Flint on April 3, 1735, concerning William Middleton and James Conway. (Eng.)

1203. Copy of a writ of Peter Morgan, sheriff of Flintshire, to his bailiffs ordering them to warn the tenants of the late Thomas Salisbury, formerly of London, otherwise called Thomas Salusbury of Bachegraig, to appear

before the Justices at Westminster, concerning the execution of a judgement of debt given in Michaelmas Term, 1712, against the said Thomas for the late Roger Griffiths, gentleman. Feb. 5, 1752. Endorsed by Dr. Johnson. (Eng.)

1204. Final concord between William Fowler Jones, plaintiff, and Thomas Russell and Margaret, his wife, concerning land in the parishes of Dymorchion and Caerwys. Aug. 15, 1793. (Eng.)

FRODSHAM (co. Chester).

1205. Award between John Salusbury of Bachegraig and William Norris of Speake, co. Lancaster, made by Raphael Davies of Trerabatt, co. Flint. Mar. 5, 1638/9. (Eng.)

1206. Counterpart of the same.

GALTHOG (co. Flint).

1207. Bond of Edward Hughes of Galthog and Ralph Hughes of the same to John Salusbury. Aug. 1, 1622. Seals, imperfect.

HOLYWELL (co. Flint).

1208. Bond of James ap John Gruff of Hollywell and John James of the same, to Thomas Byrchinsha. Nov. 30, 1562.

HOPEMEDACHIED (co. Flint).

1209. Quitclaim by Ralph Sneade of Hopemedachied to John Salusbury of debts in the right of Ellen, his wife. Mar. 24, 1633/4. Seal. (Eng.)

KILOWEN (co. Flint), now CILOWEN (Waun, St. Asaph).

1210. Sale by Katherine Ffoulkes of Pengwerne, co. Flint, spinster, and Robert Ffoulkes, her eldest brother, to John Griffith David of Dymorchion. Aug. 24, 1636. (Eng.)

1210A. Bond of the same and Robert ap Rees Wynne of Kilowen to the same. Aug. 24, 1636.

KINGSTON UPON THAMES (co. Surrey).

1211. Lease by William Rogers of Lethered, co. Surrey, yeoman, and Elizabeth, his wife, to Robert Hubberstye of Kingston, innholder, of the Red Lyon. Oct. 31, 1592. (Eng.)

LLANDURNOCK (co. Denbigh).

1212. Bond of Fulk Salusbury, late of Llandurnocke, to Robert Salusbury. Mar. 19, 1626/7.

LLEWENNY, ETC. (co. Denbigh).

1213. Writ of Peter Holland, sheriff of Denbigh, for the execution of a judgement on behalf of Jane, widow of Sir John Salusbury, kt., against Thomas Salusbury, esq. Aug. 20, 1578. Seal.

1214. Writ of the same concerning the same. Nov. 20, 1578.

1215. Assignment of a bond of the late Sir John Salesbury of Lleweny, kt., and others to the late Maurice Wynne, by John Wynne of Gwedyr, co. Carnarvon, son and one of the executors of the said Maurice, to John Salesbury, esq. Dec. 1, 1587.

1216. Bond of John Salusbury of Lleweny, to Roger Salusbury of Baghegrege, and George Salusbury of Erbistocke, co. Denbigh. Nov. 6, 1591.

MAENEFA (Tremeirchion, co. Flint).

1217. Grant by Peter ap David ap Gruff of Mayneva to Peter ap Harry ap John Gruff of Bryngwyn, co. Flint, and Edward ap John ap David of Rhiaddyg, co. Flint. Mar. 18, 1578.

1218. Counterpart of the same.

TREMEIRCHION (co. Flint), *see* DYMEIRCHION.

TRER GRAIG (Tremeirchion, co. Flint).

1219. Deed of covenant for redemption of land by Piers ap Harry ap Gruff ap John of Trer graig from Robert ap John ap Richard of Aberchwylar, co. Flint.

TRER LLAN, DYMERCHION (Tremeirchion, co. Flint).

1220. Quitclaim by Alexander Salusbury, son of the late Robert Salusbury of Denbigh, and Anne Salusbury, widow, to John Salusbury of Bachegrege. Mar. 21, 1623. (Eng.)

1221. Sale by the same to the same. Mar. 26, 1623. (Eng.)

1222. Grant by Perceval (?) Jones of Demerchion to Roger Evans of Bodeygan and Hugh Jones of Gelliloveday, co. Flint, in the interests of Perceval, Mary and Anne Jones, his children. Apr. 5, 1632. Worn.

1223. Mortgage by John Salusbury of Bachegraig, to William Owen of Llandshiping, co. Pembroke, of lands, etc., in Tre Llan, Tre Graig and Bachegraig. Jan. 16, 1737/8. (Eng.)

MISCELLANEOUS.

1224. Lease by Roger Salusbury, son of Sir John Salusbury, kt., to Hugh Salusbury of Henllan, his brother, of "*cattell, plate, jewells, houshold stuf and ymplementes of husbandry.*" Nov. 20, 1579. Annexed is an inventory of the goods, etc., which "*Hugh Salusbury sold to the above-named Roger Salusbury and are by him dimised over by these presents to the said Hugh for seven yeres.*" (Eng.)

1225. Deed of gift from Margaret Salusbury of Astrat, co. Denbigh, to Margaret, her daughter, of goods, etc. Aug. 26, 1606. (Eng.)

1226. Writ ordering the execution of a decision of the Chancery court, on May 7, 1689, in a case between James Child, John Fleete and Samuel Danvers, plaintiffs, and John Dandridge, William Russell and Thomas Terrell, defendants. This case had come, on July 18, 1688, before the late Lord Chancellor Jeffereys. Jan. 25, 1690. (Eng.)

1227. Appointment of Thomas Salusbury, esq., as a Deputy Lieutenant for the county of Flint by Hugh, Earl of Cholmondeley, Vicecount Malpas, Baron of Wichemalbanke, Lord Lieutenant of the severall Counties in North Wales, Lord Lieutenant, Custos Rotulorum and Vice-Admirall of the County Palatine of Chester. Oct. 13, 1707. (Eng.)

1228. Abstract of a deed of Trust as to two mortgages of premises in Lea Newbald, co. Chester, and Bodfary, co. Flint, assigned to Robert Glegg, esq., by the late Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart. Apr. 29, 1714. (Eng.)

1229. Certificate recording the admission of John Salisbury, esq., as a free burgess of the borough of Liverpool. Oct. 17, 1733.

1230. Record of court proceedings relative to the estate in Surrey of the late John Salesbury Cotton, the appointment of a receiver, etc., dated Nov. 17, 1733. (Eng.)

1231. Appointment of John Salusbury, esq., as Captain of the Company of Foot for the Hundred of Issalett, co. Denbigh, by Sir Robert Salusbury Cotton, Baronet, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Denbigh. Feb. 10, 1734/5. (Eng.)

1232. Appointment of the same as a Deputy Lieutenant for the county of Denbigh by the same. Feb. 10, 1734/5. (Eng.)

1233. Will of Anthony Bass, mariner, "*now belonging to his Majesty's Ship Sheerness Captain Geo : Bridges.*" Feb. 29, 1743/4. Probate Apr. 26, 1744. (Eng.)

1234. Appointment of John Salisbury of Bodvill, esq., as a Deputy Lieutenant for the county of Carnarvon, by George, Earl of Cholmondeley, etc., Lord Lieutenant for the several Counties in North Wales, etc. Mar. 3, 1743/4. (Eng.)

1235. Copy of the will of Dame Philadelphia Cotton of Finchley Lodge in the parish of Finchley, co. Middlesex, widow, (mother of Hester Maria Salusbury, wife of John Salusbury, esq.). Nov. 3, 1756. A codicil added May 6, 1758. (Eng.)

1236. Abstract of the settlement made previous to the marriage of the late Henry Thrale, esq., and Hester Lynch Salusbury, spinster. Oct. 9, 10, 1763. Made for Mr. Vandercom, Bush Lane. (Eng.)

1237. Bond of Henry Thrale of Saint Saviour's, Southwark, to Hester Maria Salusbury of the parish of Saint Ann, Soho, widow. Mar. 25, 1770. (Eng.)

1238. Marriage articles of Thomas Davies of Newmarket, co. Flint, butcher, and Anne Jones, daughter of Jane Jones, otherwise Eyton, of Llanhasa, co. Flint, widow. Aug. 8, 1758. With a receipt of Davies to Henry Thrale. Jan. 13, 1776. (Eng.)

1239. Tripartite indenture between Gabriele Piozzi of the city of Bath of the first part, Hester Lynch Thrale of the same, widow of the late Henry Thrale of the borough of Southwark, co. Surrey, of the second part, and Richard Cox of Quarley, co. Hants, and Augustus Greenland of Newman

Street, in the parish of Mary la bone, co. Middlesex, of the third part, concerning the settlement of the interest of £51,865 1s. 8d.—3 per cent. Consolidated Annuities, and of £13,400 like Annuities during the life of Mrs. Thrale. July 19, 1784. (Eng.)

1240. Counterpart of the same.

1241. Counterpart of the same.

1242. Certificate of the marriage of Gabriell Piozzi and Hester Lynch Thrale, given by Richard Smith. July 23, 1784. With an attestation by Jean Balthazar, comte d'Adhemar, etc. July 27, 1784.

1243. Printed notification "alli Signori Mastri delle Poste dello Stato Veneto," filled in for Signor Gabriel Piozzi and his party, travelling from Milan. July 8, 1786.

1244. Memorandum of an agreement between Gabriell Piozzi of Streatham, co. Surrey, and James Kershaw of the same, gardener, concerning garden produce, etc. Oct. 25, 1790. (Eng.)

1245. Letters of denization granted to Gabriel Piozzi of Streatham. Aug. 8, 1793. Seal fragments. (Eng.)

1246. Attested copy of the above. Aug. 14, 1793.

1247. Copy of the baptismal certificate of Giovanni Salisbury Piozzi, born Sept. 9, baptised Sept. 12, 1793. Oct. 4, 1798.

1248. Policy (Phoenix Assurance Company) of Peter Giles, esq., of Streatham Park, Surrey, insuring the house, household goods and buildings, from May 17, 1798.

1249. Will of Gabriel Piozzi of Brynbella, co. Flint, esq. Nov. 27, 1802. Additions made on Nov. 25, 1808, and Jan. 11, 1809. Probate May 2, 1809. (Eng.)

1250. Letters of Denization granted to John Salisbury Piozzi, "formerly of Breschia in Italy but now of Enborne near Newbery." June 30, 1809. (Eng.)

1251. Powers of attorney from Hester Lynch Piozzi, "widow and sole Executrix of the last Will and Testament of Gabriel Piozzi deceased," to Charles Mitchell Smith Shephard of Gray's Inn. Jan. 1, 1810. (Eng.)

1252. Seven documents relating to the legacies left by Gabriel Piozzi to Pietro Piozzi, Giacomina Maria Giuseppa Piozzi and Giovanni Maria Piozzi of Brescia. 1809-10. (Italian.)

1253. Fifteen documents relating to the legacies left by Gabriel Piozzi to Giovanni Battista Piozzi, Cecilia Margarita Piozzi, Don Luigi Piozzi, Maria Piozzi, Maddalena Piozzi, Ippolita Piozzi and Laura Piozzi of Quinzano, near Brescia. 1809-10. (Italian.)

1254. Copies of two letters, with translations into Italian, from Charles M. S. Shephard, to Giovanni Battista Piozzi and Pietro Piozzi.

1255. Letters to Charles M. S. Shephard from Giovanni Battista Piozzi on (a) July 31, 1809, and (b) Jan. 18, 1810, and from Pietro Piozzi on (c) July 14, 1809, and (d) Jan. 15, 1810. (Italian.)

1256. Letters to Hester Lynch Piozzi from (a) Giovanni Battista Piozzi on July 31, 1809, and (b) Pietro Piozzi on Apr. 20, 1810. (Italian.)

1257. Certificate, signed by John Cole, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, recording that John Piozzi Salusbury subscribed to the Articles of Faith and Religion, took the oath of Allegiance, and swore to observe the Statutes, etc., of the University. May 8, 1811.

1258. Will of Hester Lynch Piozzi. Apr. 19, 1813.

1259. Will of Hester Lynch Piozzi. Mar. 29, 1816. Inserted is a request to her executors, dated 1818.

1260. A letter of requests from Hester Lynch Piozzi to her executors, Sir James Fellowes and Sir John Salusbury, relating to William Augustus Conway, Lady Keith, and others. Oct. 18, 1819.

1261. A letter of request from the same to the same, relating to William Augustus Conway. Oct. 10, 1820.

1262. A folio volume recording the area and value per acre of lands, etc., held by Sir John S. P. Salusbury, Thomas Lloyd, Sir Edward P. Lloyd, the Rev. Whitehall W. Davies, Sir Thomas Mostyn, David Pennant, Sir Robert Salusbury, the poor of Saint Asaph, Denbigh School, and others.

(To be concluded in our next issue.)